

AN ESSAY,

IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION:

WHETHER DOES THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPETITION,
WITH SEPARATE INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS;

OR,

THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITED EXERTIONS, WITH
COMBINED AND EQUAL INTERESTS;

FORM

THE MOST SECURE BASIS FOR THE FORMATION
OF SOCIETY?

"A brighter morn awaits the human day,
When every transfer of earth's natural gifts," &c. &c.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA,

PRINTED BY JOHN WILBANK,

No. 2 Shoemaker Street.

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1838.

A PRIZE of 10*l*. was offered by J. M. MORGAN, Esq. for the best Essay on the question "Whether does the principle of Competition," &c. to be competed for by Members of the London Mechanics' Institution: the following Essay proved successful. Had it depended on myself it would never have been offered to public notice, my opinion would have led me to "put it under a bushel;" that it is published is owing to the kindness of one whose indulgent eye has magnified its merits, and diminished its defects. As it must now be judged by a more severe tribunal, I take this opportunity of requesting the reader to remember, that this is not the production of one who, with his study-door closed on the cares of the world, can amply collect and digest information on the subject of his enquiry, and arrange and mature his ideas at leisure. This Essay was written at the close of an apprenticeship, when fourteen hours of each daily twenty-four, were passed in close application to a business which will not permit of undivided attention—that of a Mathematical Instrument Maker—the time, therefore, which could be devoted to a task like the present, must necessarily be snatched from those hours which rest or recreation demand. I beg of the reader, therefore, every indulgence which such circumstances can deserve.

THE AUTHOR.

AN ESSAY,

answer to the Question : Whether does the Principle of Competition, with separate Individual Interests ; or, the Principle of United Exertions, with combined and Equal Interests ; form the most Secure Basis for the Formation of Society ?

"THINGS as they are," seems to be the motto of the world in general ; innovations and innovations, are regarded with suspicion and contempt. This is not strange. Our ideas of propriety are formed according to existing institutions ; we are born, and bred, and our prejudices were formed under their influence ; it is not strange, then, that we should look with fondness and partiality on institutions so intimately connected with ourselves. They are guaranteed by custom, and we do not stay to inquire into their correctness. "By far," says Dugald Stewart, "the greater part of the opinions on which we act in life, are not the results of our own investigations : they are adopted implicitly, in infancy and youth, upon the authority of others." (a) Habit assumes the air of propriety, and we obey its dictates without examination, making it in some measure the test of all questions proposed to our consideration. Averseness to change, doubtless, possesses advantages ; we are more stable, frivolity is checked. The proverb says, A rolling stone gathers no moss ; so far it is good, but if carried to such an excess as to reject every proposal because it is novel, improvement is at an end. Attention should be paid to those who have plans for the melioration of society, the merits of such plans should be discussed, and if they produce a conviction of their truth ; should be acted upon. "Every man carries about him a touchstone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial gold from superficial glitterings, truth from appearances. And indeed the use and benefit of this touchstone, which is natural reason, is spoiled and lost only by assumed prejudices, overweening presumption, and narrowing our minds." (b) Yet we do not apply this touchstone. Custom too often exerts a tyranny over our minds, which makes us deaf to the voice of reason. How numerous is the list of those, whom prejudice has punished for advancing and maintaining truths now admitted and subscribed to by all ! Galileo declared that the earth revolved round the sun : men had been taught to believe the contrary ; Galileo was imprisoned, compelled to retract his statement, and admit that the sun whirled round the earth. The bane of his persecutors, and indeed of all who have persecuted the truth, was, in presuming that they could not be wrong. Their opinions had descended to them from their fathers, and what had been believed so long, prejudice persuaded them must be right. Let us beware lest we fall into the same error, for we are not less fallible than they. How requisite it is then that we should divest ourselves as far as possible of prejudice, while investigating the present question—a question, which enlists all our prejudices on one side—a question involving no less than a total change in the formation and constitution of society.

(a) Philosophy of the Human Mind.

(b) Locke.

On a question of such magnitude. I express my opinions with diffidence. It requires a better answer than inexperience can make. I feel diffident, too, because I adopt the least popular side, and hold opinions which are condemned by the mildest of its opponents as visionary ; by many as insane ; yet I will not blush to avow the conclusion at which I have arrived. After examining the question attentively and with all the ability I could, my conviction is that the best basis on which to found society, is that of united exertions with combined and equal interests. I am sure such conviction is not the effect of a youthful imagination. I had no party to serve—no prejudice on this side at least—to sway me, I examined the subject coolly, impartially, and dispassionately ; and in such a state of mind on the part of my judges. I hope to be judged.

The object of universal desire is happiness. However different, or however varied our actions may be, the object in view is the same. We seek happiness, nor can we conceive any other motive for the actions of rational beings. Happiness, then, being the great desideratum of mankind ; that form of society which secures to its members the largest share thereof, is the best, and therefore, the "most secure," for where can society find a better pledge of its security, than in the hearts of its members ? where a higher eulogium than in their happiness ? There is indeed no other mode of judging of the excellence, or the depravity of a society then as it tends to the happiness, or the misery of the individuals of which it is composed.

Utility, then, as conducing to happiness, must be the test of our institutions : all other standards are factitious, and deceitful : that which will not bear the Ithuriel touch of utility is worthless, and undeserving support, though it be enshrined in the venerated rust of antiquity. In the investigation, therefore, of a subject so important as that involved in the present Essay, we must rise superior to the eulogs and waymarks of prejudice, and not believe anything to be good, but inasmuch as it is useful ; nor condemn anything really useful as wrong, merely because it does not coincide with our habits or pre-conceived opinions ; for whatever shall tend to the *unmixed* happiness of mankind, must, alas ! be novel indeed.

Here the question. What is happiness ? naturally arises. Happiness is a word as frequently, as familiarly, and I may add, as thoughtlessly used as any in language. It is a "household word," yet we seldom find persons possessing just ideas of its nature. It is the object of general pursuit, yet each individual seems to seek it by a different mode ; how unsuccessfully may be imagined, when we hear many declare that the evil in the world balances the good ; others lamenting that "all is vanity," exclaim that this life is indeed but a state of probation and of suffering. The difference of opinion on the nature of happiness, seems however to arise from our mal-education,

rather than the impossibility of defining the term. It has, I think, been justly defined as denoting "that continued state of well-being, which is compounded of the different items of pleasurable feeling experienced during a considerable space of time. Pleasures being the component parts of which happiness is the aggregate or result." (c) These items of pleasure, (as being experienced by the mind or by the senses,) are either mental or sensual. This latter, if we may judge by the pursuits of the world, is the species more generally desired, although it is difficult to conceive why a rational being should consider his mind as less pertaining to himself than his body. The pleasures of sense, though so decidedly inferior both in intensity and duration, our only criterions in estimating happiness, are certainly more tangible than those which are purely mental: this, and knowing that the uncultivated can appreciate them almost equally with the cultivated, while the mind requires some culture before it can enjoy those pleasures which are purely mental, may probably account for this strange partiality for matter in preference to mind.

Some philosophers have denounced animal gratifications as unworthy an intellectual being; but these seem as much at fault as those who place happiness solely therein. Man receives the sensation of pleasure or of pain from external objects, through the medium of his senses. To increase the one and to lessen the other must be productive of happiness: his animal delights should, therefore, be carefully cultivated.

Attaching to sensual pleasure, then, all the importance which its votaries can demand, acknowledging the addition to our happiness from wealth, as productive of elegance of taste, or of whatever can gratify the senses, it is evident that these alone cannot render a being happy, we may sigh for them, but possession lessens them in our estimation, till from custom, and that organization of the mind by which it always harmonizes and finds an equilibrium with the circumstances which surround it, the palace and the cottage yield nearly equal happiness to its possessor: or, if we consider the short duration of actual animal pleasures, we shall have a tolerable idea of the insignificant portion, they of themselves contribute towards the sum total of our happiness or misery. Between any one item of pleasure, or pain, and its successor, an interval exists of far longer duration than the sensation itself; this interval is not a state of torpor, or of apathy. The vacant mind which in itself possess no resources may, when no longer under the influence of external excitements; sink into a state of listlessness, and feel existence a burden; (d) but the cultivated and active mind enjoys intellectual pleasures, which were ill exchanged, for all that wealth or pomp can bestow.

The most prolific source of pleasure or pain which can operate on a human being, is the relation in which he stands with his fellow-creatures. On this relation all his happiness depends, and to maintain it is the end of all his exertions. Why does he seek to obtain riches? Is it for their own intrinsic value? Does the man of business fore-

go all present enjoyment, and devote all his early life to confinement and anxiety, that he may in his old age gratify his palate and encompass himself in luxury? Such, indeed, seem the objects of his ambition, but not for themselves are they thus prized: it is because they draw the esteem of the world on their possessor. Wealth and splendour are the high roads to admiration, and find a distinguished place in the thoughts of his fellow-creatures, is the endeavour of him whose whole mind seems bent on the accumulation of wealth. If such be not the truth, why is not the hireling, who rides behind his master, as much the object of ambition as the master himself? The physical circumstances which surround the are for the time—and of that only I speak—alik. The lacquey who follows royalty in a procession through gaping crowds, is no object of ambition yet the splendour of the procession equally surrounds the monarch and himself, but the eyes of the spectators are not fixed upon him, and the consciousness of his own insignificance prevents him enjoying the magnificence of the scene.

Can we doubt of the mutual dependence of man on his fellow-men for happiness, when we find so numerous a portion of the species, in an avowed pursuit of whose lives is the possession of honour, whose only aim is to obtain the notice of mankind? Open the page of history; it abounds with instances of men who have braved, and have sought death, that they might live in the memory and the esteem of posterity. Why do the suicide prefer death to the difficulties that surround him? Is life intolerable because, perhaps, his food and his raiment must be coarse, or because any circumstances which may have occurred, affect him physically? Surely not; but he sees their effects will be to debase him in the eyes of the world; prospectively he sinks in the esteem of those on whose sympathy he depends, and, therefore, his life is burdensome, death releases him from the contempt of the world, and he prefers it to life. So extensive is the influence of this dependent feeling, that, perhaps no man can, or ever could, say, "I am careless of opinion." What opinion such an one entertains of himself. Difference of rank or enmity may make us thus we are thus indifferent, but we are then anxious that the person in question should be sensible of our indifference—a proof that such indifference does not exist.

This mutual dependence of man is attributable to a sympathetic feeling which pervades human nature—a feeling which mingles and connects with the whole species, proving that a state of unity and brotherhood is most consonant to nature. The design manifested, certainly, is to be pre-eminent, but we must remember, that the forms of society, a man is necessarily estranged from the majority of his species. Yet but a small portion, indeed, can he interchange the reciprocal delights of friendship, and as it is impossible, by the operation of the feeling alluded to, for him to be indifferent to their sentiments respecting him; he endeavours to obtain their notice and approbation by such means as custom and fashion prescribe.

Every individual is more highly gratified by the approbation of his friends, than by that of an equal number of strangers. If he obtain their approval, he can endure, with some degree of complacency, the scoffs of the rest of the world. If a fortunate circumstance occur to him, his impulse is to make them sharers of his joy; if he be unfortunate, in them he seeks for consolation. If, then, the circumstances by which a man

(c) Thompson's Distribution of Wealth.

(d) This is one great cause of the dissipation which so extensively prevails. I believe that the rich rush into excess from want of occupation, merely to rid themselves of ennui. I know that it is the case with the poor man when toil is for a moment remitted,—his mind is indeed a waste. We shall see how these may be avoided.

rounded, did not fetter his natural inclinations, no extraneous influence warped his sympathy, and checked the benevolence inherent in his bosom, it is evident that he would, by all possible means extend and strengthen the circle of his friendships. Much as a man is now debarred from the enjoyment of free social intercourse, it is in his friends that he may be said to live, to move, and to have his being. A man's happiness may be estimated by the intensity with which he is loved and is beloved.

If we examine many of the sentiments that prevail in society, concerning propriety, we shall find that they take their rise from sympathy. Against all excesses we are indignant, save that of kindness and benevolence; towards him whose only failing is indiscriminate or imprudent generosity, our only emotion is pity for his weakness, and that weakness but places him nearer in our affection. Why do we regard him with these feelings of approbation? Self-interest has no influence; for we admire him whose actions produce good to others, although we may not individually receive any benefit from his exertions; we admire him because his labours have a beneficent tendency, and our own hearts vibrate in unison with his. We consider an action as more or less virtuous, according as its tendency is more or less benevolent. An action which terminates to the exclusive benefit of the performer, receives but a small share of our praise; sympathy has a higher and a wider aim. We have not any ideas of a deity but as a being of unlimited benevolence and power; or of a demon but as a character in which malevolence is mingled with his power.

From the foregoing investigation, it appears that the best form of society is that which, while it secures to its members the amplest share of wealth, also gives them room and opportunity to cultivate their intellectual faculties, and above all tends to cherish and expand their sympathy and benevolence; in the exercise of which happiness principally consists. It is frequently and truly observed, that virtue is happiness, and that the most virtuous nation is also the most happy, and what is virtue? It is, when divested of the disguises with which superstition and ignorance have loaded and disfigured it, simply that line of conduct which tends most to the general happiness, it is contained in the exercise of benevolence guided by wisdom. No action is virtuous abstractedly considered; its tendency alone determines its quality.

And in the above criterion of the merits of any form of society there is nothing, I apprehend, at all objectionable. The possession of wealth is allowed to be an important ingredient in the production of happiness—important not only because it furnishes the means of animal gratification, but also because the want of it debars the individual so situated from much mental improvement; and knowledge is allowed to be an ingredient of still greater importance, for surely there is nothing unreasonable in endeavouring to raise the "lords of the creation" somewhat above the level of brutes, to make the routine of their lives somewhat superior to mere animal existence; neither is there any thing unreasonable in cherishing those feelings which bind man to man, and make them really brothers; in leading them to do unto others as they would be done by, and making each seek his happiness in the happiness of those who surround him.

To the consideration of competition, with separate and unequal interests, we now proceed. It

is the system which at present almost exclusively obtains throughout the world; if, indeed, that may be called a system which is the sediment left by a jumble of adventitious circumstances, each of which has left its scar, and contributed to form the heterogeneous mass of congregation miscalled society. In the construction of the meanest and most inconsiderable article, a considerable degree of skill and method is employed, while the most important of earthly affairs—the constitution of human society—is left to the control, and suffered to be formed by unconnected circumstances, without order or regularity, even without any consideration of the natural and immutable principles of those beings on whom it is to operate. The legislator does not produce or improve any system of action. Circumstances impel him, and he gives a factitious legality to their procedure. He endeavours, too, to render them permanent, and, in his attempts, but checks the advance of improvement, till gradually acquiring force, it carries him, too, in its course, hurrying his former dogmas and sometimes himself into disgrace or oblivion.

But though the present state of society has been thus irregularly and unmethodically produced, any form of society, based on competition, with separate and individual interests, must, after long continuance, be subject to all the evils we at present deplore, but may not possess many of the advantages we now enjoy. A system of purely individual interests, if it could exist at all, would deprive us of many of our most valuable institutions,—those which have been founded when the benevolence of nature has triumphed over the selfishness of prostituted art.

The principle feature of this form of society is the stimulus it gives to exertion. It supposes that each and every individual has within him a principle of self-preservation, an innate desire to secure his own happiness—that *self* is the most important consideration possible, and consequently, that self-interest is the surest guarantee for the developement of his powers, and that, if each and every individual of a number, secured his own happiness, the whole must be happy.

But it is here forgotten, that man is a social being in a state of society, and that many whose happiness is of equal importance may be, and are very materially affected by his actions, and that, by treating him as an isolated being, one of the most evident and strongest principles of his nature is violated. Separate and individual interest might, and doubtless would be, a very proper criterion for his conduct, if a man existed separately, and individually, and without at all interfering with the interests of his fellows; but this is supposing a case diametrically opposed to his nature and to facts, and what would, in such a state, be proper and advisable, fails when employed as the basis of society.

This may be considered as an *a priori* conclusion unbecoming an impartial examiner, but before I expressed my opinions on the subject, I of course resolved, and have now only to place before the reader, as nearly as possible, the process of ratiocination, by which I was led to such conclusion. I shall, therefore, proceed to point out what I consider the defects of the system of competition, with separate and unequal interests; its beauties I would point out as readily as its blemishes, but unhappily neither theory nor practice disclose these; while these theoretically, and practically, constantly obtrude upon my notice and occasion my regret.

Leaving for a time the consideration of this system as a stimulus to exertion, let us now examine its effects upon the morals of those who are under its operation.

Every man in competitive society is aware that his neighbour is seeking his own private interest; he is also aware that his own and his neighbour's interests are different, and that, if they interfere, (as in society they frequently must,) his neighbour will secure his own interest even to the prejudice of all others. This occurs in every dealing between men. Their interests are different, and the aim of each is to overreach each other. This is somewhat modified by the sympathy inherent in men, and existing under the name of honour, &c.; but the result of competition is such as to check, nay, eradicate that sympathy which cannot then be considered as an effect of that system which is in itself a source of mutual and universal distrust; each mistrusts, and is mistrusted, suspicion is the inmate of every breast, usurping the place of benevolence and friendship.

By this system we are taught to estimate our happiness relatively, not absolutely. Our neighbours are to us objects which we must excel; if we be superior to them, we are happy; if inferior, miserable. In such a state of things, it may perchance happen, that in endeavouring to obtain a relative height, some would not scruple to lower those with whom they are competing, at any rate they must view with a jealous eye any improvement, in others, when it is construed into a disgrace to themselves, and opposition of interests and mutual jealousy are and ever must be; the effects of a system of society founded on the competition among its members. This unceasing desire to rise, or, as it is generally termed, "get on in the world," effectually debars all from the enjoyment of happiness; for we can never possibly be contented. It is true that the mind acquires its equilibrium, and generally confines its wishes within the bounds of probability but these extend with progressive step. When one point is gained, another and again another becomes the object of ambition, and a source of restless discontent and disquietude, making our lives a continued and impatient struggle for pre-eminence. Here let me not be thought advocating mental or corporeal lethargy. I am aware that on action all our happiness depends, but when there is a system which could develop all our energies, in conjunction with unlimited benevolence, I do object to that system which produces activity, at the expense of all generous feelings.

And these certainly are sacrificed. The only stimulus to action is a hope of obtaining superiority in some particular respect. To excel in valour was generally the desire of the ancients; the moderns have torn the idol of chivalry from its base, and placed Mammon in its stead. Gold is the desire of all who seek to make a figure in the world, and did not the natural benevolence of man sometimes rise superior to the trammels by which he is fettered, every thing which should be held sacred, would be sacrificed to obtain it, for benevolence is exiled from the breast of the sordid calculating plodder, whose only aim is to amass wealth; profit is his touchstone, and by that all things are tried. "Trade knows no friends or kindred; avarice no compassion; gain no bounds." Our cities, the most thriving soil of the competitive principle, are as the poet but justly styles them,

"Nests of slaves,
Where fortune smiles not but on fools and knaves."

If virtuous conduct be that which tends to produce the greatest general good—and such it may signify, we having no test of good or bad, but happiness or misery is thereby generated—which can possibly be more inimical to the progress of virtue, than placing men in a state of opposition, a state of war with each other, and depriving it of its natural reward to bestow it on wealth; which may be obtained by means so far from honorable, or conducive to the good of the community? and wealth is now the symbol of merit.^(e) He who is possessed of this needs no other recommendation to the majority of mankind, unless indeed he be notorious for extreme moral turpitude, and even this is generally counterbalanced, if, in addition to wealth, rank be thrown into the scale (of which we have living instances.)

Where numbers are competing for the same prize, only one can be gratified by the possession of it. It is not in human nature to sit down contented after failure; disappointment must necessarily be felt, and in addition to this, at least in many cases, envy towards those who have succeeded, plants us in the objects of our wishes. In the world, though the prizes are numerous, the blarney and disappointments are numerous too; and envy too frequently rankles in the bosom of those who experience them. We have daily proofs of envy and concomitant hatred entertained by the poor towards the rich, exhibiting itself in open insult, when unrestrained by the fear of punishment, and is, doubtless, as general and as hearty, as the contempt which the rich manifest towards the poor.

And wherein does competition place human happiness? In antipathy! in being an object of envy and hatred,^(f) and consequently, a source of misery to all around us, for envy cannot exist without these attendants. An object of desire more unnatural, more vicious, could not possibly be devised as a stimulant to human exertions, such is the happiness to which we are taught to aspire; but before we can enjoy it, every consideration that extends beyond mere self, every generous and humane sentiment, must be eradicated. It is true that a man may enjoy social pleasures among his friends, in the bosom of family, but how contracted is this circle to feelings that should embrace and sympathize with all that has life; and this domestic or friendly intercourse can only be enjoyed during a cessation of the first principle of the system in question. If their interests clash, friends are turned to foes. How frequently are the tenderest ties sacrificed at the shrine of selfishness; how totally are the purest of all pleasures, those attending the exercise of benevolence, neglected!

Thus does society generate mistrust, envy, hatred among its members; it misplaces the idea of merit; it opposes instead of uniting and amalgamating the interests of individuals, and makes "happiness" most unhappy.

Those extensive causes of moral degradation

^(e) Question. What do you mean by "respectable?"

Witness. "He always kept a gig."

[Thurtell's Trial]

^(f) "Wealth is acquired by overreaching neighbours, and spent in insulting them." "WIN—"Political Justice."

excessive wealth and excessive poverty, are only the results of this system, and are equally to be dreaded. In wealth itself, however superfluous, there is nothing injurious, it is beneficial; when wealth, and the gratifications it affords, become the sole objects of our thoughts, and ambition; when distinctions on account of wealth are, it is highly detrimental; the mind is starved to support the body. Now, any system which bestows honour, and all that men hold estimable, on the possessor of wealth, must have the effect of withdrawing all attention from the mind, which is consequently enervated, and if not destroyed, is constituted to the most unworthy purposes; it generates, too, a false pride, destructive of morality and virtue? The ill effects of excessive wealth have ever been lamented by those who would see men moral and intellectual beings, and has furnished the satirist and the misanthrope with a fertile source of sarcasm, or malevolent invective; assuredly the follies, and vain (not to say ridiculous) pursuits of the excessively wealthy, must give cause for regret to every rational observer, and to every well-wisher of his species. They consider themselves as a separate and superior species. To sympathize with a caste inferior to themselves, whether by participation of their joys, or to alleviate by consolation their sorrows, would be derogatory to themselves, and would subject them to the reproaches or contempt of their equals. Their patronage of benevolent institutions may more readily be accounted for the score of ostentation, than of genuine charity. I hope this will not be deemed an uncharitable construction, but such is, I fear, too frequently the case; but if they are actuated by motives of kindness, it is an emanation from natural benevolence, not from the system of individual competition, for it throws a circle of antipathy around every class and grade of society.

Of the evils of excessive poverty little need be said, they are evident to the most superficial observer; they thrust themselves on the notice of the most careless. The life of the poor man is one continued scene of privation, and unremitted toil, he is only valued as he possesses powers of production, and by this test he is tried by many arrogating to themselves the title of legislators. In judging their works, we might suppose they were calculating the powers of production and consumption; possessed by so many irrational, and even inanimate machines; so little is the nature of man considered by those who profess to benefit him; the mind of a brute could not possibly be neglected. The poor man, by the misfortune of his birth, is condemned to consume his life in one stated mechanical operation, and such his faculties only as conduce to facility or perfection therein, are cultivated.

"In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations; frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of mankind are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects, too, are perhaps always the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and, generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind, not on-

ly renders him incapable of relishing, or bearing a part, in any rational conversation; but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment; and, consequently, of forming any just judgment, concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country, he is altogether incapable of judging; and, unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind; it corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance, in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expence of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But, in every improved(?) and civilized(?) society, this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall unless government takes some pains to prevent it." (g)—Such are some of the effects of competition. It will shortly be shown that such a state of miserable existence of the labourers is not, as generally supposed, necessary to the happiness of the rest of the community. Such is the effect of competition, not of necessity. The interests of the masters and their workmen, like all individuals who have dealings with each other, are opposed. It is the endeavour of each to take advantage of the other. By the competition among workmen to obtain employment, and the desire of the master to give them as little as possible, in return for their services, they are compelled to toil as long as nature will permit, (h) to obtain a scanty subsistence—a subsistence so scanty indeed, and wretchedness so extreme, that when we contemplate the condition of a great, perhaps the greater part of the population, we cannot but exclaim, What has our boasted civilization done for these? They are precisely in the state of those barbarous nations, who have just sufficient dealings with Europeans to imbibe the vices of civilized life, without any of its benefits, while at the same time they experience all the wants and privations of savage life—a state infinitely worse than the grossest barbarism. The labourer in a civilized country certainly has his life protected by the laws, but who would rob him of that? To tell him that his property is protected, is a mockery.

(g) Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. When he wrote the above, he had not seen such deplorable instances of degenerated humanity as our manufacturing districts now present. How he could call that improved and civilized society in which the great body of the people are, as he has described them, is incomprehensible; it is an abuse of terms.

(h) I am certain that in many employments, the workmen frequently work longer than their strength can bear, without having recourse to artificial stimulants. I have known instances of men drinking quantities of stimulating liquors, to enable them to complete their task; a consequent debilitation ensues, and they have again recourse to the same expedient. A diseased life, and an early death are the consequences; but perhaps misery and mortality are counterbalanced by the additional wealth and splendour of the nation. The sufferers of course go for nothing.

The following was the state of the population at Huddersfield⁽ⁱ⁾ 1829:—

Thirteen thousand two hundred and twenty-six inhabitants each earns two pence half-penny per day.

Two thousand four hundred and thirty nine inhabitants, each earns five pence half-penny per day.

Four hundred and twenty-one inhabitants, each earns seven pence per day.

Six hundred and sixty inhabitants, each earns six shillings eleven pence per week.

The moral degradation attending so low a state of animal existence is evident. In fact, what room is there for cultivation? As soon as the child of the labourer is capable of the least exertion, he is sent to work, frequently—especially in those districts which present the proudest trophies of human genius and mental powers—commencing at seven, and even at five years of age, at which early age, he labours twelve, fourteen, and in some cases, the elder ones as many as eighteen hours, out of the twenty-four.

“The following were the hours of labour imposed upon the children, employed in a factory at Leeds, last summer:—On Monday morning, work commenced at six o'clock; at nine, half an hour for breakfast; from half-past nine till twelve, work. Dinner, one hour; from one till half-past four, work. Afternoon meal, half an hour; from five till eight, work; rest for half an hour. From half past eight till twelve (midnight) work; an hour's rest. From one in the morning till five, work; half an hour's rest. From half-past five till nine, work; breakfast. From half-past nine till twelve, work, dinner; from one till half-past four, work; rest half an hour, and work again from five till nine o'clock on Tuesday evening, when the labour terminated, and the gang of adult and infant slaves are dismissed for the night, after having toiled thirty-nine hours, with brief intervals, amounting to only six hours in the whole, for refreshment, but none for sleep. On Wednesday and Thursday, day work only. From Friday morning till Saturday night, the same prolonged labour repeated, with intermissions as on Monday, Monday night, and Tuesday; except that the labor of Saturday, closed at five. The ensuing day, Sunday, must under such circumstances, be a day of stupor, to rouse the children from which, would only be to continue their physical sufferings, without the possibility of compensating them with any moral good.”^(j)

O what a horrible, what a heart-rending scene, does this present to our view. On reading it, the heart is agitated by all the passions that the most systematic, cold-blooded, and demoniac outrage on humanity can rouse, yet this is daily perpetrated in “happy England.”

“Ye sons of mercy! yet resume the search;
Drag forth the legal monsters into light,
Wrench from their hands oppressor's iron rod,
And bid the cruel feel the pains they give.”

In addition to the miseries of their excessive toil, their food is scanty and far from nourishing; the very refuse is their sustenance, their wages owing to competition being barely sufficient to support life. Potatoes and oatmeal are the prin-

cipal articles of consumption, occasionally, bacon, or an offal meat pie may be obtained. But the richest diet which can be obtained by these poor creatures, is deprived of half its little sustaining power, by the hurried manner in which it is devoured. It passes through the body in almost as crude a state as when it first entered the stomach; no chyle is formed, and no nourishment is imparted.

From such a state of existence, what can we expect? Precisely what we observe, a wreck of humanity, a corrupt and depraved mind, in a distorted and diseased body. Out of eight hundred and twenty-four children employed in factories at Stockport, and who were examined by Dr. Ashton, the following return was made:—one hundred and eighty-three *healthy*; two hundred and forty *delicate*; forty-three *very much stunted in their growth*; one hundred with *enlarged ancles and knees*; and thirty-seven of the number *distorted in their inferior extremities*. The diseases which they endure are described as *scrofula, affections of the joints, chronic abscesses, sore eyes, glandular enlargements, and cutaneous affections*.

The most extreme state of moral degradation may be expected from creatures thus circumscribed, thus sacrificed to brutal toil. Their infancy is passed with parents whose whole time is employed in procuring for them a wretched subsistence, whose ignorance is as gross, and more as corrupt, as misanthropist can possibly conceive, their childhood is passed with gangs of wretches as miserable and as untutored as themselves; no time is left for instruction: their Sunday days are indeed unoccupied by toil, but surely their condition on that day after the drudgery of the preceding six, can be little superior to mental or corporeal torpor; or even granting them to be in a condition to receive instruction, they can have but little inclination thereto. Happy to obtain a respite from confinement and slavery, they pass it in a manner most opposite to their previous occupation, if possible burying it in oblivion; for they can have no idea of the pleasure attending knowledge, yet if they attend a Sunday school, or a church, and hear the instructions of the tutor, its effects end with the hearing; example is more powerful than precept, a strange if the bad examples they witness during the six days, do not eradicate the too often and uninteresting lessons of the seventh.

They at last arrive at years of maturity, not only in a state of ignorance, but of gross depravity. Their lives are spent among labourers as unformed as themselves; they imbibe their habits from example, and never wish to shake them. Their happiness is in animal gratification; drunkenness and debauchery are their pastimes. Temporary pleasures of these excesses are palatable. It requires no lecturing to teach men that there is a pleasure in sensual gratification while it requires some degree of cultivation, or at least a freedom from ill habits to pursue steadily the task of mental cultivation. I think there is no greater act of self-denial, than the toil-worn labourer resisting the temptation to join in the sensual pleasures of his companions, that he may acquire knowledge. The custom of his equals is opposed to improvement, and his superiors are always likely to treat his slender acquirements with contempt; he can associate with none but his fellow labourers; and if he follow not in the

(i) Return of a Committee on the state of the Population of Huddersfield. Extracted from Essays on Commercial Economy by E. S. Cayley, Esq.

(j) Speech of M. T. Sadler, Esq. in the House of Commons, 16th March, 1832.

check, they scout him, leaving him no alternative between an isolated solitary being, and a wretched, the refuse of humanity.

A view of the miserable state of the poorer classes may teach us not to regard the extent of crime with astonishment. There is nothing wonderful in it, a temptation constantly exists in the abundance by which they are surrounded, and at which checks are opposed? The commission of crime may be prevented by the action of religious feelings,—by teaching men that they are accountable to a Supreme Being, and that in a future state of existence they will be rewarded, or punished, according as their deeds upon earth shall have been good or evil. I do not here comprehend those systems of religion which teach us “to merit heaven, by making earth a hell;” but I allude more particularly to the mild and benevolent system of Christianity. Secondly, By moral culture, by teaching men their reciprocal duties and obligations, explaining the nature and foundations of society, and the ill effects of crime on all the members thereof. Thirdly, By removing all external temptations to crime. I have said that crime may be prevented by these methods; the competitive system has given rise to another attempt at prevention, viz: by coercion.

The general endeavour of the world, or at least the benevolent part of it, is to check the commission of crime by religious education; this, under the present system, is impracticable; the majority of the people are so occupied, or rather agrossed by considerations of a more worldly nature, that religion can obtain but a secondary and cursory attention, the effects of which are insufficient to impress them with a due sense of its importance; (k) and the bulwark raised by religion will not withstand a single shock of self-interest. Religion, too, can never be a sufficient safeguard to morals, under a system which places men in a state of constant opposition to each other. Such a system is diametrically contrary to its most sacred precepts; they are irreconcilable; they cannot co-exist. The Christian religion has been preached 1800 years, yet how few are sincere in their professions concerning it, or if sincere, how little do these professions influence their conduct. Had not the present system of society been inimical to its progress, the ages it has been taught would have produced more splendid fruits; we should ere this have enjoyed the millennium, instead of the majority being in a state of ignorance, or indifference concerning it. It is clear then that under a competitive form of society, which places men in a state of war, religion which teaches men to live as brothers, cannot be an efficient safeguard against crime. If we contrast the maxims which now influence men's conduct, such as “get money,” “each for himself,” &c. with such Chris-

tian precepts as the following, we shall have a key to irreligion, an ample reason why Christianity does not thrive in a competitive soil:—

“By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, that ye love one another. Do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you. Have charity towards all men.” Indeed, the whole of the New Testament which teaches equality and community of property, (l) &c. is at variance with competition.

The same impediments which prevent religion being an efficient and universal preventive against the commission of crime, operate as powerfully against the system of moral and political culture, and further, in such a system it would be necessary to convince each individual that he possessed his just rights. The faith required by religion renders men in some degree contented with their worldly state, and fixes their minds on a hereafter, while a scheme founded on moral and political justice, extends no farther than sublunary affairs. Men must be satisfied that they themselves receive justice, before they can be expected to render it to their neighbours (at least in an universal scheme.) Dishonesty cannot be a proper foundation for honesty. As it would be difficult to persuade a starving multitude that justice is equally dispensed to them, and to those who are revelling in wasteful superfluity; it seems vain to hope for a cessation of crime from the action of moral and political culture, while society as at present constituted shall exist. Natural justice seems entirely forgotten. “The accumulated labour of the labourer is not in his possession, but has been rapaciously or ignorantly seized by others. For who has raised all the subsistence which supplies our daily wants? Who ploughed the land, reaped the corn, and made our bread? The men who are starving, or crowding our poor-houses or prisons! Who built the houses, palaces, and all the edifices which cover the country? Not the rich, for they never labour or produce any thing; but the poor fugitive wanderers, either without home or habitation, or dragging out their miserable existence in cold ruinous huts, or inhaling noxious air in damp cold cellars, more fit for the charnel houses of the dead than the abodes of the living! Who dug the gold out of the earth, fashioned, embossed, and coined it? The men who ask alms in our streets, or are living, as the records of the House of Commons testify, on two pence a day! Who built the ships and transported the produce of distant lands to our shores? The men who are slaves at the hulks or expatriated to Botany Bay! Who spun the yarn, made the cloth, and all our vestments? The naked outcasts of society, wearing shreds and patches: the living victims of ruthless spoliation and robbery! These are the men who have laboured out the wealth of society, and are at last hunted down by the executioners of the law for taking, when pinching famine compels them, a part, a little part, of their own earnings. This law must be the law of the rich, not his who “openeth his hand liberally, and supplies the wants of every living thing.” (m) The first principle of moral and political justice is the natural equality of mankind, and intelligent

(k) Fanaticism may also be a result, for we frequently, nay, generally find that those who are most bigotted, understand least of the principles of religion; for, surely, he who breathes nothing but enmity towards those who differ with him in opinion, can understand but little of the principles of a charitable and benevolent religion, or if he do understand them, his theory shames his practice. It were not true to assert that all bigotry is caused by insufficient time for study. But we find men of little knowledge, more positive and violent than those who are intelligent and well-informed.

(l) See Acts of the Apostles.

(m) The above somewhat exaggerated statement of facts which, alas! need no exaggeration, is an extract from a pamphlet by T. Hayland, Esq.

men will never remain content under an unnecessary usurpation of it; and expediency will never reconcile them to a violation so flagrant and extensive as that which now exists. Thus, before moral and political knowledge can become a preventive of crime, society must be remodelled and regenerated.

To prevent crime by removing all external temptation, is also evidently impossible in the present state of society; while superabundant wealth, Tantalus-like, taunts the wretch who is perishing with want, temptation to crime will exist, and crime will be committed:

While a hope remained of checking crime by the operation of reason, no man would willingly have recourse to coercive measures. Arguments are fit for rational beings; stripes too bad even for brutes, for they are susceptible of kindness, and may be trained thereby; yet punishment enters into, and mingles with all our transactions from the first dawning of mind till the last moment of our existence; we are surrounded by punishments; every law holds forth its pains and penalties; the same course is taken to instruct the brute and the "Lords of Creation." Yet there is something so shocking to humanity in the idea of flogging men into the right path, that though by the daily recurrence of scenes of torture, our hearts may become somewhat seared, we are never totally reconciled to its infliction, and our humanity, or sympathy, or whatever feeling it be, that interests us in the fate of our fellow-creatures, and mingles our destiny with theirs, ever lifts its still small voice against the use of coercive measures, though custom declares it necessary.

The punishments inflicted by coercion are in many cases dreadful, and contrary to all ideas of what is termed by retributive justice. Till very lately a man would be hung if he stole a horse. A man was hung for forging the stamp of a pack of playing cards. Punishments so disproportionate to the offence, dissipate all ideas of propriety, and only impress the mind with horror and indignation. It frequently happens, too, that the punishment inflicted on the innocent is greater than that suffered by the guilty. In the case of a man suffering death, his punishment (for surely the law cannot contemplate eternal torments to him,) ends with his life—a moment and it is past. The wretch is released perhaps from an existence of misery, while his relatives who very probably had no participation in his crime, continue to be punished by the taunts and reproaches of the unreflecting part of the community.

And how ineffectually does the grand instrument of competition operate, interposing its own narrow and uncertain awards between an action and its legitimate consequences. It makes undiscovered vice appear so much clear gain to the perpetrators, for be it observed, in coercion there is nothing infallible; the innocent may suffer; the guilty may escape, for, from its own intricate windings, its effects are proverbially uncertain. By education, we prevent crime; it fixes a permanent, ever-active monitor in the heart; vice seems hideous and unnatural: thus the mischief is prevented. By coercion, we can only punish, a crime committed, which aggravates rather than lessens the evil. It is true that the fear of punishment may very greatly prevent the commission of crime; but how inefficiently and uncertain does it act. Those least liable to the influence of fear—frequently the greatest rogues—despise and neglect its dictates; and what a detestable motive, what more unworthy a rational being

than fear. Yet under the system of competition no other mode of preventing crime can operate. The very foundations of the system are contrary to the mild and benevolent principles of Christianity; while its violation of moral and political justice, equally prevents any moral scheme from efficiently acting. We must still content ourselves with the use of the chain and the lash, to preserve the inequality which our social(?) system creates, to prevent the crimes resulting from that inequality. Gaols and the gallows must accompany the system which places men in a state of war with each other, that system which is so aptly supported by the public executioner.

I have here asserted that crime is caused by the ill construction of the society in which we exist, and in that assertion I am, I think, fully borne out. That man unnaturally delights in evil⁽ⁿ⁾ is a notion generally and justly exploded. Man never acts without a motive; and, if the circumstances by which he is surrounded impel him to virtue, his acts will be virtuous, and there must be a temptation to vice, stronger than the incentive to virtue, or he would not act criminally. The reasoning powers with which man is gifted enable him to judge between different objects proposed to him; as far as he is able to judge, he adopts the best course, he does that which—*all things considered*,—seems most to his advantage, for he would be insane who should do that which his reason declared most prejudicial to his mind, then, acts as a balance, weighs, and decides in favour of those arguments which have most weight. The criminal then is more justly an object of compassion than of anger, because he has been placed in unfavourable circumstances.

Now if we consider the nature of the crime committed, and of the motives which cause their commission, we shall find that all, immediately or mediately, are the effects of that form of society which is based on competition, with separate and individual interests.

By far the majority of crimes are those committed against property.^(o) These may clearly be traced to the inequality which this system causes, and the principles it indicates. The whole black catalogue of crimes, are the effects of opposition of man to man, and teaching each to secure his own private interest indifferent of that of others. Even murder, whether by the hand of the public or private assassin, is one of the fearful consequences of this system. How often is murder committed while attacking the property of the victim, from the exasperation of the murderer at his interests having been injured; and war that whole sale system of murder, that triumph of demoniac passions and madness, what are its causes? The opposition of nations, as if a mountain or a river dividing the two nations should make the interests of the inhabitants to be different, and contrary; but thus does the unnatural system of competition, by opposing man to man, and nation to nation, make the earth, instead of the abode of confidence, innocence, and happiness, the scene of discord, of crime, and of misery.

⁽ⁿ⁾ "The inclination to good is imprinted deeply in the nature of man."—*Lord Bacon*.

^(o) In France, out of every 100 crimes, 75 are against Property. I am not certain of the proportions in England, but from our extensive commerce, I apprehend the proportion of crime against property is even greater.

Having briefly traced the effects of the competitive system on the morals of those who are under its influence, let us now investigate its merits, as a scheme for the production and distribution of wealth, not merely considering its effects in a few isolated instances, but as a great national system, on which the happiness of the whole of the governed, principally depends. Its merits regards production, to be estimated by the quantity produced, and the comforts of the producers, regards distribution, by the happiness thereby ministered. Its advocates insist that this is the only system capable of stimulating men to industry. We shall examine their assertion.

By the talents and the exertions of men, whether mental or bodily, they are enabled to produce such articles as are necessary to their existence, for their convenience, or the gratifications of all or any of their desires. To develop these talents the competitive system resigns to every man the care of himself, teaches him to secure his own individual interest, inconsiderate of all others, except that he violate not the laws of justice. This seems correct, and plausible enough, for self-interest, that the gratification of all or any of our desires, is certainly the rudder that steers mankind, perhaps when we seem most disinterested, we are in reality more under its influence; than at any other time. (p) The performance of a benevolent action, though it appears so distant from all selfish considerations, doubtless contributes as much to the happiness of the individual who performs it as any other, which is more ostensibly personal. The satisfaction we receive from the accomplishment of any purpose is in proportion to the intensity with which such accomplishment is desired, and he who performs any service for another will receive greater satisfaction therefrom, than the receiver of such service, if he, (the receiver,) desired the accomplishment with the greater intensity. Thus the pleasures experienced by the benevolent man may be actually greater than those which he bestows, because his desire to give, was greater than the desire of the party receiving, to receive; and in giving he gratified his own desire—he acted on the principle of self-interest, but refined and extensive.

These remarks are introduced to show, that self-interest may inspire other actions than such as begin and end merely in self. Self-interest is indeed the only principle which can stimulate any being, yet it need not, nor should not be connected to selfishness, for though that may operate individually, it fails when employed collectively and universally.

A system of individual and unequal interests can only be rationally supported on the supposition that each person is rewarded according to his merits. Now in this respect it totally fails, for all, even the rich agree (at least in theory—it were to be wished they acted more according to their theory,) that want of fortune is not a disgrace to a man, while if this system of competition and individual interests, dealt rewards and punishments justly, a man's wealth or poverty could be a criterion of his deserts, which experience most unequivocally contradicts. Here then, in a particular, which at first sight it seems fully calculated to accomplish, it totally fails. What stimulus to good conduct, does this system give to the ragged houseless wretch, born to poverty and contempt? how can he better his condition? yet

(p) "Interest speaks all languages, and acts all parts, even the part of *disinterestedness* itself."—*La Rochefoucault*.

he is a man; he, too, possesses his faculties and energies, as capable and as deserving of cultivation as those of the proudest; he is naturally as capable of giving and receiving happiness, and has as much right to the enjoyment of it, as any other man whatever. Indeed, how many are there without the pale of society altogether. There are thousands on whom the stimulants of competition cannot have the slightest influence. "How large a portion of your population are like the dogs of Lisbon and Constantinople, unowned, unbroken to any useful purpose, subsisting by chance or prey, living in filth, misery, and wretchedness, a nuisance to the community while they live, and dying miserable at last." (q)

Selfishness—and Competition, with individual and separate interests is selfishness—cannot, applied as the prime mover of society, develop to the full extent the talents of its members, so as to produce the greatest general good, for in a society which is to develop and concentrate their powers, some bond of unity is requisite, something which shall identify the individual with the general welfare, and with the welfare of every other individual. This, in a competitive form of society does not exist. It is contrary to the first principles of such a society, for frequently one man's hurt is another man's benefit. It is to the interest of the physician that men should be ill, and kept so; it is to the interest of the lawyer, that men should quarrel and injure each other; it is to the interest of the hangman, that men should be hung. Thus good health and good behaviour among men would ruin these three classes, and so of many others. To create labour rather than lessen it, is to the interest of all men. There is no union among them at least for good purposes. In the exchanges which take place, and which form a most important feature in all societies, a striking proof of the individuality and counteraction which this system creates, is exhibited. In exchange, commodities are in a great measure valued according to their variety, according to the difficulty of procuring them. An oversupply of any commodity, occasions a reduction in its exchangeable value, and a corresponding loss to its possessor. It is his interest then to throw all possible impediments in the way of those who are engaged in pursuits similar to himself, as he thereby enhances the value of his own commodity. Thus the interest of every individual is opposed to that of the whole community, for, it is to the interest of the community to obtain every article with cheapness and facility; this cannot be done when every man is compelled to turn monopolist in his own defence. This turmoil of conflicting interests is not a mere speculation; we perceive it in all the proceedings of the world. There are 24,000,000 of inhabitants in these realms, and in these realms there are 24,000,000 of contrary and conflicting interests. We cannot surely expect a full and universal development of talent in a state like this, and still less can we expect friendship, and benevolence to be cultivated.

Nor is this confined to single districts or nations. Each nation opposes every other that competes with it. Every invention or improvement in one nation, is a source of jealousy and grief to another, because they lose thereby; for the labourers whose labour has been thereby displaced, can apply themselves to the manufacture of articles which heretofore they had purchased of

(q) Southey's Colloquies.

their neighbors. Our foreign policy is indeed a mass of counteraction.

"Each nation has been made to look, with an invidious eye, upon the prosperity of all the nations with which it trades, and, to consider their gain as its own loss. Commerce, which ought naturally to be, among nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship, has become the most fertile source of discord and animosity.(7)

Difference of rank (which is entirely a result of this system,) is extremely hostile to a practical development of talent. The rich by the puerility of those habits which luxury engenders, and a foolish pride which pronounces action to be vulgar, and idolence meritorious, live mere puppets, far worse than useless; if they distinguish themselves, it is only by their extravagance, their profligacy, or an overbearing *hauteur*, for they are insolent in proportion to their moral insignificance. There may be exceptions—there are great exceptions—but they are like angel visits, few and far between, and but render the intellectual darkness of their caste blacker by the contrast.

If those stiled noble, those who are supposed and ought to be fit objects of emulation, are thus debased—and sad experience proves that they are—to whom shall we look for the cultivation of the human power? shall we turn to the poor? We have seen how they, from being engrossed by one mechanical pursuit, are incapacitated for mental exercise. Action is so unremittingly forced upon them that it becomes irksome and insupportable; or if in spite of the difficulties that surround them, they become in some degree intellectual and are ever so vehemently convinced of their ability to produce any thing useful, or to improve any thing already produced, what insurmountable impediments are thrown in their way; their time is spent in procuring wherewith to satisfy the cravings of hunger; to employ their time in maturing their projects is to starve, and their funds, even with the utmost exertions and privations, are too insignificant, to enable them to conduct any experiment, or to perfect and embody their ideas, thus they are ruined, and society deprived of the benefits which might arise from their exertions. Strange that we should thus voluntarily prevent any advantage from the talents of a majority of the population.

The check thus directly given to the development of talent, and the production of wealth, by the difference of rank, is not the only evil caused thereby. The rich have almost sole possession of the capital, without which, production cannot proceed; a "higgling" then arises between the capitalist and the labourer, as to what portion of the joint produce of labour and capital, labour shall possess. The capitalist, however, can exist for some time on his capital without the aid of the labourer, who, cannot exist at all without the capitalist. In the true spirit of competition then the wages of labour are reduced to that sum which will just maintain life. If at any time the demand for labour

should exceed the supply, the labourer may experience a transient prosperity. On consideration, it is evident that the demand for labour is erected by, and wholly depends upon the necessities of the capitalist. The labourer, it is true, employs his fellow-labourers, but he pays them with that capital which he himself has previously received from the capitalist, as a reward for his own labour. Let the wants of the labourer be ever so urgent, unless the capitalist has need of his services, he must idly starve; he cannot possibly labour to supply his own wants. Thus the production of wealth is limited by far the least numerous portion of society, even though the majority are in want, and labourers and capital are in excess. In these times we have a superabundance of both and misery abounds—the ill effects of making capitalists and labourers distinct classes.

This is the reason that machinery is detrimental to the interests of the labourer. When a machine is introduced which supersedes the necessity of manual labour, that labour is cheapened in the market. If already the supply of labour exceeds the demand, it entirely deprives some portion of the labourers of the employment; that it enables the labourer to purchase more with his income is true, *if the income be fixed*; but if it deprive him of employment, it also deprives him of that income, and those labourers who are not employed, compete with those who are. Thus, by competition their wages are decreased in the same proportion as the powers of production increase. Machinery, it is true, cheapens the necessities of life, but it also cheapens the labourer, that alteration of price becomes merely nominal; his wages never remain permanently above the level of mere existence.

To say that the increased consumption consequent of cheapness, gives eventual more employment to the labourer is, I believe, but a very superficial remark. The rich will not purchase articles of which there is a superfluency because they are cheaper, and all demand for labour, originates with them; consumption is increased, but not sufficiently to counter-balance the depreciation of labour attending the introduction of machinery.

If machinery be beneficial, it must be so introduced to an unlimited extent; but suppose—which some have deemed to be possible, human labour to be thereby entirely superseded, in what situation would the labourer be? It appears that machinery is detrimental if the supply of labour be too great for the demand, which state has long since arrived; but in a society formed upon rational principles, every improvement applied to the arts would be beneficial.

Some, either to preserve as far as possible the good opinions of the people toward the existing form of society, or because they really do not believe that producing the means of happiness in abundance can possibly produce misery, have asserted that machinery is beneficial; have attended to their reasonings, but even with a prepossession in their favour, I have found them inconclusive and unsatisfactory. I have

sidered the facts and arguments which they neglected to produce, and the result of this investigation has been that machinery to society as at present constituted and situated, is detrimental to the majority of the people; and I cannot imagine a more bitter philippic against competition, than by its blasting influence: it converts the greatest instrument which man can possess to secure his happiness, into a curse, a source of poverty, of crime, and of misery.

Ultimately, however, I believe that the effects of machinery will be beneficial. It will work out its own remedy, but not till the misery it occasions has arrived at such intensity as to be almost insupportable, and then men will perceive and repent their follies; but I repeat that this is a false boast, and deservedly so, of modern times, has proved detrimental to those whom it should principally benefit, because it increases the already over-supply of labour,* without creating a corresponding increase in the demand; and under the existing form of society there is no hope of relief. I shall here insert a quotation from one who has vindicated the use of machinery under present circumstances, as fully as the badness of his cause would allow him.

"Who † can deny that it is a serious evil when the industry of the working man is suddenly invaded by a power against which he cannot struggle? The state of change is undoubtedly a state of suffering. The moment the machine comes into competition with human labour, the wages of that labour begin to adjust themselves to the lesser cost of production by the machine. The Rev. Mr. Turner, in 1827, rector of Wilmstowe, in Cheshire, manufacturing district. The questions of the Committee of Emigration, and Mr. Turner's answers shew how the competition of human labour is maintained against machinery.

Question. "Has not the use of the power-loom superseded the use of the hand-loom?"

Answer. "Undoubtedly; it would have superseded them much more rapidly than it has done, if the hand-loom weavers were not enabled to submit to a reduction of wages."

Question. "But in so submitting he has accepted wages which are insufficient to support him, and he looks to parochial contribution for the remainder of his support?"

Answer. "Yes; and in fact the competition between the hand-loom and the power-loom is maintained out of the poor-rates."

*The ill effect of machinery is to produce too much. Over-production, though seemingly a paradox, does nevertheless exist, presenting the horrid anomaly of superfluity and starvation. Practical illustrations of over-production are daily witnessed, every trade is overstocked with labourers, machines lie useless, and their products a burden on the hands of the manufacturers.

† Results of Machinery.

Thus, by the author's own confession, degrading pauperism ‡ or expatriation, is the benefit which the industrious receive from the introduction of machinery, to be reduced from the respectable and in some degree independent mechanic, to the cringing wretch who lives on the debasing bread of charity. This he calls a "temporary inconvenience."

Why should this occur? Why should this, which ought to be an assistance and benefit to the working man, be to him an insurmountable curse? Surely, if it be necessary that a portion of a society should devote themselves to the labours of production, any machinery which can perform those operations in their stead, should alleviate their toils, not consign them to the lowest state of misery. Justice declares that machinery should aid and better the condition of the labourer; but the present system of society makes it his greatest oppressor, for it is not founded on justice. The legacy left to mankind by the genius of Watt and Arkwright, is monopolized by a few, who convert it into an instrument of tyranny, a source of the extremest evil.

The author I have just quoted, (page 193, says, seemingly, aware of the unfitness of his arguments for inspection. "It would be presumptuous to say that no great changes could again happen in any of the principal branches of human industry; but it may be said, that the difficulties of introducing more expeditious and cheaper modes of manufacture, is daily increasing. The more machines are multiplied, that is, the nearer society approaches perfection the less room is there for those great inventions which change the face of the world. We shall still go on improving, doubtless; but ingenuity will have a much narrower range to work in. It may perfect the machines we have got, but it will invent fewer new machines." Thus does this advocate for machinery, by allowing that a check to improvement would be beneficial to the working man; and by his endeavours to console him in his starvation, with the prospect of such a check, admit, that the malformation of society renders mechanical improvement detrimental. Shame to the advocates of a system which makes us lament the progress of human ingenuity. But leaving the field of speculation, let us consider the facts that surround us; to a candid mind their dumb eloquence is irresistible. It has been prophesied ever since machinery was felt to be a grievance, that it would eventually be beneficial: we have groaned under our load of misery, and we still groan; the promised relief ignis fatuus like, seems still further from our grasp; we are on political mount Horeb; hope withers, our poverty, our burdens, our crimes, our gaols increase, and we impotently lament the evils that overwhelm us.

‡ How unfortunate that district must be which gives birth to these productions of genius; its improvements and poor's-rate must form a delightful contrast.

Besides that machinery lessens the wages of the labourer, it also obliges him to work longer, even for those decreased wages. Formerly he employed about nine hours of the twenty-four in his occupation; he also had a great number of local holidays (slaves have them now, and they work but nine or ten hours per day: "what is in a name?") thus affording him time for healthy recreation, and to recruit his energies. Now the emaciated mechanic frequently passes double that time in the manufactory, and his recreations are in debauchery.

"The pale mechanic leaves the lab'ring loom,
The air-pent hold, the pestilential room;
And rushes out, impatient to begin
His stated course of customary sin."

[Clifton Grove.

"For which their daily hard labor, want of better habits, and the general vacuity of their minds tend to prepare them."

Yes, the boasted discoveries of our philosophers, those glorious triumphs of mind, which give us such elevated ideas of humanity, from their gross misapplication, but heap misery on the majority of the people. A problem proposed in this institution last year was. "If knowledge be power, and that power be employed in the extension of the mechanical and commercial resources of a kingdom like Great Britain, how does it happen, that such a nation does not command the commerce of the world, and find its resources sufficient to keep its laborious population out of a state of poverty?" Why, indeed? It is because the principles of society are wrong, social and mechanical improvements have not gone hand in hand; every improvement in the powers of production from want of correspondent improvement in our social system, is a cause of distress; for a high state of mechanical improvement and a barbarous state of society are incompatible; patch upon patch may be applied, till we are lost in the labyrinth of our regulations, but while we build upon a sandy foundation, the superstructure cannot be secure, we shall ever be alarmed by the convulsive throes of a misformed, misgoverned, and wretched society.

But the ill effects of depriving the labourer of his employment, end not in the deprivation of society and himself of the benefits of his labour. Crime is too frequently an attendant of want,* to check and suppress which a considerable portion of time and talent is sacrificed; thus throwing a further burden on the producers of wealth.† Indeed, the temptations to crime are

* "Vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, flattering, pimping, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, killing and the like occupations."—*Swift*

† The expense of administering justice is about 1,000,000*l.* per annum. In 1827 it was 1,023,950*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.*; and in 1830: 993,681*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*

so great, that many prefer living thereby, and running the risk of punishment, to labouring honestly and despised. The prostitution of splendid talents to the purposes of fraud, which we have so many instances, must be a source of regret to all who would wish for the fullest developement of human talent and virtue; for a state to be happy must be virtuous. And why do men thus misemploy their talent to the serious injury of society? Simply because that society has made it their more preferable course; thus making that, which under wiser regulations would be a source of incalculable good, a source of the deepest disquiet and evil.§

The system of exchanges, an important consideration in national prosperity, is under the competitive form of society extremely defective. Individuality of interest divides it into petty insignificant circles, with nothing grand or harmonious in their proceedings, each of which requires a number of distributors of wealth, which employment necessarily precludes a possibility of their acting as producers of wealth, of which nevertheless they consume a considerable, indeed the most considerable share; thus forming a tax upon those engaged in production. Shopkeepers, although necessary and indispensable as things now are, do not produce any thing; and as we proceed further we shall find that their services, as mere exchangers may be in a great measure dispensed with, and their talents more usefully employed.

The ill effects of the competitive form of society upon morals, and upon the production and distribution of wealth, might be dilated upon to an extent much greater than the limit of a paper like this will allow; perhaps enough has been said to prove that they are ruinous and miserable; in a moral view it is to be condemned as engendering vice, and in many cases opposing the exercise of virtue; it tends to destroy the mutual love which should exist among men, and teaches them to seek for happiness in antipathy, instead of cherishing the

§ "It would perhaps prove an interesting calculation, and useful to a government, to estimate how much its finances would be improved by giving proper employment to a million of its subjects, rather than support that million in ignorance, idleness, and crime.

"Will it exceed the bounds of moderation to say, that a million of the population so employed, under the direction of an intelligent government, might earn to the state 10*l.* each annually? Ten millions per annum would be obtained by each individual, earning less than four shillings per week: and any part of the population of these kingdoms, including within the average the too young and the too old, for labour, may be made to earn under proper arrangements, more than four shillings per week to the state, besides creating an innumerable train of other beneficial consequences."—*Owen*

empathy which nature has implanted in every breast; while as a stimulant to the production, and a mode of distributing wealth, it totally fails, checking and limiting production rather than encouraging and extending it. To obtain wealth—land, capital, skill, and labour, are requisite. A healthy society will employ these advantageously and render its members happy. We have these requisites in abundance and are miserable, therefore the society under which we exist is bad. Perhaps no system could be devised more destructive of human happiness; average life, not depending on any regulations, is decidedly superior, we there find (at least in many instances,) a high and generous tone of feeling, a noble and manly pride scorning the commission of baseness, which we may seek for in vain among the worshippers of Plutus, in civilized and polished society; there mutual danger may teach mutual forbearance, and deter all from outrage; here a pretext of law, and a show of justice enables one class to rob and oppress another.

What do facts tell us of the effects of this system? Misery is written on every page of history; indeed history is but a record of man's suffering from the opposition of his fellows; well might the poet exclaim:

"man's inhumanity to man,

"Makes countless thousands mourn."

And whence proceeds this inhumanity? From the principle of competition, from each being taught to pursue his own interest regardless of all others, and nothing but misery can be expected from such a demoniac principle, men's idea of justice controls it in some degree, but what is justice? It—at least competitive justice—justice is fixed and unalterable—alters with the year, with the hour, it is a weathercock blown about by the winds and currents of circumstances, the justice of yesterday is unjust to-day, the justice of to-day will be unjust to-morrow, we are often perplexed to draw a line between the just and the unjust.

I appeal to the facts which are before us, the system has been tried and what are its effects? With a power capable, if properly directed, of supplying three Europes with the necessities of life, || our population is in a state of degradation of misery never before equalled, one tenth part are paupers, || crime increases, our jails are filled, and the social fabric is convulsed to its foundation.

What has our increased knowledge brought us? Mere nominal advantages, happiness has not progressed—indeed we are now as unhappy as it is possible to conceive a nation to be. Now, when our philosophical and mechanical improvements would lead us to hope for prosperity, we have arrived at a crisis which confounds and appals all who consider it; indeed, the magnitude of our evils seems only equalled by the difficulty of devising means to remove

|| M. Sismondi.

¶ Abstract of returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor, 1814.

them, but desperate and hopeless as the task appears, we have plans offered as numerous as inefficient; each supporting his own dogma with the utmost tenacity, while the contrariety of opinions, concerning the cure but increases the evil and bewilders its victims. Among the crowd of those who proffer their ephemeral remedies, a numerous body has arisen, who declare that to secure permanent relief, we must remodel the whole frame-work of society, substituting the principle of united exertions, with combined and equal interests, in the place of competition, with separate and individual interests.

I shall now proceed to describe nearly in the words of the philanthropic Owen, the outline of his system, founded on the basis of united exertions with combined and equal interests.

Outline of the Rational System of Society, founded on demonstrable Facts, Developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature.

A rational government will attend solely to the happiness of the governed.

It will ascertain what human nature is, what are the laws of its organization, and of its existence from birth to death, what is necessary to the happiness of a being so formed and matured, what are the best means by which to obtain those requisites, and to secure them permanently for all the governed.

It will devise and execute the arrangements by which the conditions essential to human happiness, shall be fully and permanently obtained for all the governed; and its laws will be few, easily understood, and perfectly in unison with human nature.

The Constitution and Laws of Human Nature, or Moral Science of Man.

Man is a compound of animal propensities intellectual faculties, and moral qualities, or the germs of them, whose character is formed of his organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it, from birth till death; such original organization and external influence acting and re-acting each upon the other.

Man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his *feelings* and *convictions*, independent of his will.

That his *feelings*, or his *convictions*, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

The organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth, nor can art subsequently form any two individuals to be precisely the same.

Nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in cases of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured either into a *very inferior*, or a *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth.

The inquietude and unhappiness which malevolent feelings cause in the breast of him

who experiences them, and the contrary effects of those of an opposite quality; they, yielding the purest and most exquisite pleasures of which human nature is susceptible, prove that there exists in every bosom a sympathy which mingles in the fate of all around it; it participates in their joys, and in their sorrows, and is affected by corresponding sensations.

The conditions requisite for human happiness are:

The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

The best education from infancy to maturity, of the physical, intellectual, and moral powers of all the population.

The inclination, and means of promoting continually the happiness of our fellow-beings, and to be surrounded by the happy.

The inclination and means of increasing continually our stock of knowledge.

The full liberty of expressing our thoughts upon all subjects.

The utmost individual freedom of action, compatible with the permanent good of society.

To have the character formed for us, to express the truth upon all occasions, and to have pure charity for the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of all mankind; and to have a sincere good-will to every individual of the human race.

Of the Social State of Man.

Man is in himself feeble, and in a great measure depends upon the assistance of others for his existence; society then should be for the advantage of all: for the disadvantage of none—this, and this only is true society, and to secure this are requisite:—

A knowledge of the laws of human nature derived from demonstrable facts, and which prove man to be a social being.

A practical knowledge of the best mode of producing in abundance the most beneficial necessities and comforts, for the support and enjoyment of human life.

A practical knowledge of the best mode of distributing these productions advantageously for all.

A knowledge of principles and practice by which to govern man under these new arrangements, in the best manner, as a member of the great family of mankind.

A knowledge of the principles and practice, for uniting in one general system the preceding branches of the science of society; to effect and secure in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments, with the fewest disadvantages.

A General Constitution of Government, and Universal Code of Laws, derived from the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature.

All shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of their conscience.

No one shall have any other power than

fair argument, to control the opinions or belief of another.

No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be attached to any faith whatever.

Every one shall be equally provided through life, with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements; which arrangements, shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

All shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment.

All children shall be trained and educated together as children of the same family, and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature and of society.

Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty.

Under this system, after the children shall have been trained to acquire new habits and new feelings, derived from the laws of human nature, there shall be no distinctions of property.

Society shall not be composed, as at present of single families, but of associations, of men, women, and children, from three hundred to two thousand, as local circumstances shall determine.

Each of these communities shall possess around it, land sufficient for the support of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number.

These communities shall be so arranged, as to give to all the members in each of them, as nearly as possible, the same advantages, and to afford the most easy communication with each other.

Of Government.

Each community shall be governed by general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of members of the general council.

All the members of thirty-five years of age who shall have been educated from infancy in the communities, shall be officially called upon to undertake their full share of the duties of management; and at forty-five, they shall be excused from officially performing them.

The duties of the general council shall be to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its community; to organize the various departments of production, distribution and formation of character; to remove all those circumstances which are least favourable to happiness, and to replace them with the best that can be devised among themselves, or which they can obtain a knowledge from other communities.

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"Under the present and past irrational system of the world, devised in opposition to human nature, nineteen out of twenty, or perhaps more truly, ninety-nine out of every hundred of the external circumstances formed by man around society, are of an inferior and vicious tendency; but under the rational system of society, now proposed to be formed according to nature, all the circumstances under human control will be of a superior and virtuous character."

"Under the existing religious, political, commercial, and domestic arrangements of Great Britain, two hundred and fifty individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land, while under the proposed system, with much less labour and capital than are now employed; five hundred may be immediately supported in abundance, and in a few years after the arrangements shall have been matured, one thousand, one thousand five hundred, and probably without any additional new discoveries, two thousand, individuals may be so supported upon every square mile of an average quality of soil."

Such is an outline of the system of society founded on the principles of united exertions, with equal and combined interests; in it there is nothing improper, it is founded on virtue—it is founded on those principles which actuate every benevolent heart, on principles which are admired by all men, though society prevents them being acted upon: there is nothing improbable, it is founded on human nature, it is a system which for its effects on virtue and wealth, and in consequence on human happiness, should be dear to the moralist, to the politician, and to every lover of his species, which latter class, I hope, includes all mankind.

Its effects on the morals of its members are evident they would be virtuous, for there can exist no cause for vice; it is *difficult to conceive*

how any motives to vicious conduct could possibly exist. This surely must speak to the heart of every individual who perceives the connection between the virtue of a state and its happiness, and every reflecting mind must perceive it. To be virtuous is to the interest of every member of such a community, a far surer guarantee for his good conduct, than any factitious system of rewards and punishments, for without broaching the question of free-will and necessity, it must be allowed that if the influence of circumstances be not absolutely irresistible, that influence is very great. If it be contended that man can *act* from the weaker motive, it must be allowed that he rarely does so, is it not safer to make his interest and virtue coincide, than to oppose them? which it is undeniable, is too frequently the case in competitive society. But in a system founded on benevolence and mutual assistance (true society) no such opposition could arise; crimes against property would be unknown, no one could steal where property is in common, each would be provided for, and where no distinctions of wealth existed (and why should they exist?) there could be no motive for private and individual acquisition. Crimes against the person, and direct outrages on the first grand principles of this system, and more—they would outrage the sympathy that pervades all mankind, where all were friends mutually assisting each other, where all the actions of their lives were a series of reciprocal obligations, an outrage against any individual would be an actual injury to the perpetrator, it would wound the most sensitive part in all cultivated beings—the benevolent feelings; it would be insanity, and where self-interest did not dictate an outrage on a fellow creature, such an outrage would be unknown.* We find even in a competitive society, where truly, benevolence is not much cultivated, that each will do much to assist another, unless such assistance interfere with his own private interest or his prejudices; how much more then would benevolence and kind feeling prevail among men if their natural sympathies were supported and strengthened by self-interest.

Crimes which result from the effervescence of wild and unregulated passions, would be abolished by such an enlightening education as is advocated by this system. Among such communities as these there could not exist any temptation to lie. Why should we ever disguise the truth? Is error the root of any thing that is beneficial? the propagation of truth would be the interest and desire of every one, and he would aid it as far as possible.—There would be no every-day lies, which now form so prominent a part in our system; there would be no "higgling of the market," no

* Yet now in our country "the boast," &c. &c. our gibbets are likely to stud the land as thickly as sores on a diseased and leprous body.

tradesmen's lies, or lawyers to make a profession of lying, or at least of defending error and injustice half their time, and this apparently with the greatest zest: there would be no lying to support appearances, now a common occurrence, while mere rank or wealth are the sole criterions of respectability. The "white," or "conventional lies," which Dr. Paley has pronounced innocent, but which at any rate by rendering mendacity habitual do much to undermine the love of truth, would not have place where no threadbare acquaintance was to be shunned, and however worthy, sacrificed to the false pride of the world; and where men had received an education that precluded all possibility of their becoming frivolous or impertinent characters. We might proceed with the whole catalogue of crime and of vice, and show how inimical the communal form of society would be to their practice; but it is sufficient and decisive to say, and a consideration of the nature and causes of crime will prove it, that it would there be injurious to any man to act viciously, while education would guide him to the path of virtue, and interest and inclination keep him therein.

Against those forms of society founded on benevolence, it has been objected,[†] that they do not afford sufficient encouragement to the exercise of the minor or secondary virtues, as prudence, vigilance, circumspection, temperance, constancy, firmness, &c.; but surely, when every individual was concerned for, and interested in, the general welfare and prosperity, which must be the case in all societies founded upon true principles, every act would be prized as it tended to good, or derided as it produced evil. Would there then be no encouragement to such virtues as those enumerated above? Indeed, in such a form of society, and only in such a form, could they be properly and universally estimated, for now the failings of one man are frequently the causes of prosperity to another.

Virtue, meaning that which produces good, that form of society being the most virtuous must be the most happy. In this form alone can be realized the sublime and benevolent views of the divine Founder of Christianity; here would be embodied all that he preached and taught. Views, which men considering only the present form of society have deemed impracticable; views, that have seemed but golden visions too happy to be human would be fulfilled; troubles and strife would cease, and peace and good-will universally prevail; each *would* love his neighbour as himself. Distress would be unknown; there would be no destitute orphans sinking for want of protection in the struggles of the world; no widows lamenting not only the loss of those whom they loved; but also of support, of subsistence. Their misfortunes would not be in-

creased by the cold calculations of suspicious selfishness, but would be met by kindness sympathizing with, and lessening their grief. The misfortunes to which human nature is incident, and which cannot be prevented by foresight, must of course be suffered; but how greatly they would be lessened by the condence of the rest of society. Envy, hatred, revenge, every dark baleful passion, being destroyed with their causes, the human breast would be the abode of benevolence, peace, and happiness; each would behold a friend and brother in every fellow-creature. Well might the poet, contemplating such a state of society exclaim:

"Who can fall in such a band but on a brother's breast!"

Of the effects of the system of united exertion with combined and equal interests upon the production and distribution of wealth. These effects are highly beneficial. The motives to industry would operate upon all; one would be without the pale of their influence. If we examine the present state of manufactures, the present mode of producing the necessaries of life, we shall perceive that the production of mere manual labour is insignificant indeed, when contrasted with that of the mechanical and chemical agency, which the intellectual powers of man enable him to command. Knowledge is power. "It has been computed that the increase to the productive powers of Great Britain, through the aid of steam and improved mechanism, with other scientific appliances during the last forty years is equal to an additional supply of the labour of six hundred millions of men.* The working classes of Great Britain and Ireland now, aided by mechanical and chemical improvements, finish as much work of the kind to which their labour is applied, as could be completed forty years ago by three times the whole manual power of the world!"[†] These are the mighty results of mind; and if we would most effectually increase the wealth of a nation, it must be done by improving and cultivating those powers, of which the results are so wonderful and immense; yet how many men are there at present who are utterly unable to think, the sole operations of whose minds is in the performance of the most manual and mechanical routine that can be imagined, a state indeed barely superior to instinct. There are many workmen who are ignorant of the causes of those effects which daily and hourly take place around them, and the machinery itself; and these are the very men from whom we might under other arrangements, expect the greatest improvement in the art of production—the men who practise those arts. It may be said that the competitive system of society, when more improved, will afford these men such an education

[†] Dr. Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments.

* Revolt of the Bees.
[†] Owen.

It enable them to take advantage of those opportunities which the practice of their occupations affords; but before the laborers can be cultivated, so as to benefit themselves and society, the first principle, the very spirit of the system must be sacrificed; for competition with individual interests will always urge the masters to exact from their laborers as much of their time as nature will permit, while the competition between the laborers themselves will oblige them to accept those terms; and until such a convention is agreed to as totally moves the competition, the laborers as a body will be ignorant, scarcely superior to the machines which they tend; and society will be deprived of those advantages which might result from the cultivation of their intellectual powers.

The communal system, on the other hand, by the very moderate degree of labor which it requires from its members, would enable them to cultivate and exercise to the utmost those powers with which they are gifted, and which surely were never intended to lie waste, and be destroyed. Practice and theory, experience and speculation, would be united in the intelligent minds of all; and the most brilliant results might thence be confidently anticipated. In this most important respect the communal system is incomparably superior to that of individual exertions.

This system too would greatly excel its opponent, in the superiority resulting from extensive and commodious arrangements. All must be aware, of the advantage which arises from large establishments in respect of facility and dispatch; the communal system would enjoy these on a scale unparalleled, almost inconceivable at present. The monopolies of particular branches of production and commerce, which now exist to the great injury of the consumer would be abolished; the general not private interest would be universally considered. The following account of the pound weight of cotton will illustrate the complexity of operations, and loss of time and labor under the present system, in a very conspicuous manner.

‘Progress of a pound of cotton.

“The wool came from the East Indies to London; from London to Lancashire, where it was manufactured into yarn; from Manchester it was sent to Paisley, where it was woven. It was sent to Ayreshire next, where it was tumbled; afterwards it was conveyed to Dumbarton, where it was hand-scowed, and again returned to Paisley; when it was sent to a distant part of the county of Renfrew to be bleached, and was returned to Paisley, whence it was sent to Glasgow, and was finished; and from Glasgow it was sent per coach to London. It is difficult to ascertain precisely the time taken to bring this article to market; but it may be pretty near the truth to reckon it three years from the time it was packed in

India, till it arrived in cloth at the merchant's warehouse in London.”

Now, though carrying and re-carrying arises in some cases from locality, which cannot be prevented. The greater number of these transportings is caused by monopolies too powerful to be destroyed, though they inflict serious injury upon society, these would be supplanted to the interest of all in a communal form of society.

There would be no factitious system of demand and supply to check the exertion of its members, and throw a great portion of them idle burdens on those whom *society permitted* to be industrious; the demand for labor would be simple and uniform, not as at present; complex and uncertain, influenced by all the intricacies of whim, fashion and duplicity; the higgling of the market would cease, and the real wants of mankind would be the only limit to demand, which it would be no man's interest to conceal or misrepresent. The demand for labor would be circumscribed only by the wants of the consumers, or limits to the powers of production; thus industry would never be fettered while want existed. Those enormous transports of industry, which are now made merely to gratify the vanity or ambition of a few, would no longer take place; utility would be the universal test, and no article would be prized merely because it drew a line of distinction between its possessors and its fellow creatures: a circle of false pride and antipathy, within which sympathy is chilled, and friendship destroyed; yet what immense portions of the actual necessities of life are abstracted; what time and talent sacrificed, for the acquirement of such unsocial objects; objects disgraceful to humanity.

If by a change of opinion, any class of laborers were rendered unnecessary, there would be none, as now, to oppose them in their endeavors to gain a livelihood; no monopolies, no trade societies;* for while so unemployed they would be a palpable loss of wealth to the community, which every individual would feel; and all would interest themselves in enabling the unemployed to direct their energies in a new channel. This would and should be the case with the introduction of machinery; the laborer thrown out thereby would not be a dead weight upon the exertions of the rest; for the machine would supply his place, and enable him to lighten the task of his fellows; and when he was established in another branch of manufacture, the machine would be a clear profit to society at large, instead of a prey of dwelling monopolies, or instead of being coun-

* I speak not in censure of this weak attempt of the workmen to guard themselves; they have a right to combine, and in many cases they must to prevent being further trampled upon. I but complain of the wretched form of society, which renders such combinations of men against men necessary.

terbalanced by the supporting of those it disengaged in the workhouse.

This machinery would be an unmixed benefit, its legitimate end would be obtained, and every improvement attended by a correspondent increase of enjoyment, universally and equally distributed. Instead of impediments being thrown in the way of an inventor, all aid would be afforded him, because the results of his labors would be a general benefit, and no one thereby consigned to poverty would have to lament its introduction.

Those who now act as distributors of wealth, the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and all solely engaged in barter would be nearly dispensed with; the system of exchange would be so overreaching that it would require but few to attend to it; thus leaving the surplus of this numerous class who now luxuriate on profits which double, treble, or even quadruple, the cost of production, to exert themselves in other branches of industry.

These are not the only persons who would be released from avocations no longer necessary, and added to the producing powers. The numerous tribe of lawyers could be otherwise employed, and the splendid talents they sometimes display, applied to more useful purposes than the generation of perplexity, now their usual occupation; in a community of interests there would be no wrongs committed to disturb the general harmony; no error need be glossed by words to confound it with the truth. Those who are now wholly employed in the prevention, detection, or punishment of crime, would be superseded, and enabled to contribute to the common stock. Soldiers, an occupation disgraceful to humanity; and those sailors engaged in war, would be converted into useful and productive members of society, instead of as now being the ministers of bloodshed and destruction.

Thus the task of the laborer would be light and pleasant, he would no longer be sacrificed to unremitted toil. "If we deduct from those persons productively employed, such of them as are engaged in producing mere luxuries, it will be found that one-fourth of the population produce all the necessaries and real comforts of the whole. It has been calculated by those who have ample data and experience, that in a co-operative society, three, two, or even one hour's labor, per day, would produce an abundance of all that is necessary or convenient to human life; and taking into account the increased facility which would attend large and comprehensive establishments; the beneficent employment of machinery, and the numbers which would be added to the producers, this statement appears highly probable.

Estimate of Numbers of the Classes in Society.

Workmen and laborers	-	-	7,497,531
Partially useful classes	-	-	325,500
Useless classes	-	-	2,056,955
Classes living on the profits of others	}		4,237,000

Each productive class includes its families and dependants.

From the foregoing investigation and comparison, it appears that the united exertions, with equal and combined interests, is superior to that of competition, with separate and distinct interests; whether considered in regard to its influence on virtue, or as a means of producing and distributing wealth. Perhaps by placing a few of their effects in contrast, we shall more clearly perceive their difference, and which side has the advantage.

*Individuality of Interests.**

- 1 Universal mistrust and suspicion.
- 2 The individual interests frequently, perhaps most frequently, clashing with the general interest and with virtue.
- 3 The institutions of competitive society being formed according to the interest of prevailing powers, and calculated to agree with temporary and ever varying circumstances, are shaken and disordered by every accident or alteration, so that even the productions of intellect, by want of *keeping* bring with them in many cases a preponderance of evil.
- 4 Effeminating luxury, only equalled in extent by corresponding poverty, degradation and wretchedness.

5 The mental powers of mankind destroyed in one case by luxury and frivolous pursuits in the other by want of cultivation.

6 Purse-pride, dividing men into castes, creating jealousies and estrangements; no man can associate or claim a kindred feeling with another on a different grade with himself.

7 Insolent dominations, or base servility tyrants or slaves.

8 Narrow contracted views beginning, continuing, and ending in *self*.

Union of Interest.†

- 1 Confidence and ingenuous frankness.
- 2 The interest of every individual coinciding with, and contained in the general welfare and the practice of virtue.

* Political economy is to a nation what domestic economy is to a family! yet that family which should adopt competition among themselves as a means of arriving at happiness would seem strangely ordered.

† If you throw a number of particles of matter into the water, they will form a representation of society under the competitive system. Each particle will create a circle around itself—a circle of selfishness, beyond which all is indifferent. The circles represent too the influence of each, the greater—the wealthy—individuals spreading their dominion far and wide, encroaching upon, and annihilating their poorer neighbors; while some will enter and depart, (overwhelmed by their prouder fellows,) without leaving a trace of their existence; but altogether he will behold a scene of selfishness and confusion, too illustrative of competition. If you compound these various particles into one body it will cause a cir

The institutions of society are formed upon true principles, unchangeable truth, and just laws of human nature, foundations on which collect may raise its noble structure, without injury to any individual, or any party; producing its natural effect, unalloyed good.

4 Equal wealth, preventing by its equality the enervating effects attending exclusive property.

5 The utmost cultivation of the human powers, without any bar or restriction from difference or rank.

6 No artificial and depraved distinctions, but a friendship and brotherhood, universal and unrestricted.

7 A noble and generous independence.—
en.

8 Benevolence embracing and pervading the whole human race; views extending wide as humanity.

The comparison might be greatly extended, but enough has been said to prove that the sum total of one is misery, and of the other happiness. That these systems produce the respective effects stated above has been demonstrated; which forms then the best or most secure basis for society is no longer the question, it is answered. I shall now advert and reply to some of the principal objections urged against the co-operative and communal form of society.

Objection. That exclusive possession is necessary to ensure industry. This form of society does not guarantee exclusive possession, and therefore does not afford a sufficient stimulant to action.

Answer. Happiness, as was before observed, is the great end of all human exertion, and that mode of distributing wealth which produces the greatest share of happiness is to be preferred, and will prove the most efficient stimulus, because it best answers the end proposed for their exertions. Doubtless, exclusive possession is necessary, when the whole framework of society is founded on that principle; but how different it would be, if man remained superior to such contracted ideas, could make all co-partners in the produce of his labour, satisfied that all were acting as freely and kindly towards himself; it would be but another mode of exchange; a mode where kindness, generosity, and frankness, took place of selfishness and suspicion; a mode which accomplished the true end of commerce—a mutual exchange for the benefit of all. The advocates of co-operation do not advocate a system founded on the extinction of self-interest—the general opinion of those who condemn the theory without inquiring and examining what it is they do condemn; they are aware that such a system would be opposed to the laws of human nature, while the system they support

is illustrative of co-operation. One great and harmonious whole, corresponding with the laws and works of nature.

is founded upon, and in unison with them, but they would unite and combine the interests of individuals, and form one general whole. They would prevent self-interest from degenerating to mere selfishness; the difference between them is great; selfishness prompts us to secure our own interest without regard to others; self-interest, refined by education, can perceive the relations existing among men, can estimate and prize the exchange of kind offices and the pleasure arising from benevolent actions. Self-interest calculates the remotest consequences; selfishness, without foresight, seizes on the present good regardless of them; one is a characteristic of a rational being, the other of a brute, in fact, society of any kind could not exist without a resignation of present interest in consideration of the future. Every restraint we put upon ourselves from motives termed virtuous or prudential, is a calculation on futurity to a greater or less extent. Such calculations are made by a co-operator, only to a greater extent than usual; he embodies them, and binds men in a bond of unity and friendship; while society, where contracted selfishness is the prominent feature, is unstable and uncertain—a rope of sand. The objection urged, involves the supposition that man is naturally a sluggish indolent animal, not easily stirred to action, which supposition is erroneous; for, by the organization of man, his happiness entirely consists in a proper degree of action—action both mental and bodily, and no one is perfectly happy who does not enjoy both; but perhaps no other state is so miserable as a listless apathy; man, therefore, he is by nature, and without the stimulant of want, impelled to action: and we find many instances of individuals pursuing even very laborious occupations for their amusement. That men should have an aversion to labour, as labour is now conducted, is certainly not wonderful; the idea of labour is now associated with that of filth, poverty, and disease; while the disgusting manners and gross ignorance too frequently exhibited by labourers, by no means necessary attendants on labour, and the excessive severity with which they are compelled to toil, certainly present no temptation to labour, and may account for what is sometimes considered an indication of indolence. And further, the prejudices of mankind are enlisted against its practice. Who, or what can appear more despicable in the eyes of the world than the labourer, who is compelled to toil for his subsistence? Gentility and refinement are disgusted with the idea of so rude and unpolished an animal. Labour is disgraceful, and can we wonder that men dislike it.

These unpleasant circumstances are by no means the legitimate appendages of labour. It has been shown that by the united exertion of a community, each individual labouring two or three hours per day, would produce as much wealth as is now produced; to which task, surely, the most fastidious could not object. So much

is necessary as an exercise for the preservation of health; and what species of exercise can be more agreeable to a rational being*—prejudice apart—than useful employment. “A reflecting being feels it a degradation to be *unprofitably* employed;” says the “Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,” so no class can object to useful employment under penalty of being dubbed unreflecting beings. Nor would such an application debar the improvement of the mental powers; thus, all would have an opportunity of becoming intellectual beings. Filth and disease would be dismissed by the operations of labour, these are engendered by the poverty and mal-education of the operatives; and under more systematic arrangements, would be totally removed. There are operations in themselves unwholesome; but the productions of many of these are but to gratify vanity, and the objectionable parts of all could and would be greatly diminished. The contempt—a harsh term but a true one—now exhibited towards the industrious, would be transferred to the idle; and those who consider the effects of public opinion may easily conceive how powerful a motive this would be to industry.

It is an idle objection then, not founded on fact, to say that a reasonable being would object to perform an operation agreeable, or at any rate not disagreeable, and which conduced to his health, merely, because the production would not be exclusively enjoyed by himself, while he is sure of obtaining in return for that portion he does not enjoy, a share in the productions of the rest of the community.

Objection. That it would check the exertions of genius, by compelling all to labour, it would divert attention from subjects of greater importance.

Answer. This objection has already been answered, by stating the quantity of labour required by each individual, so small as not to interfere with any even the most absorbing studies; in fact, little more than a necessary recreation, and all rules for the conduct of communities have obviated this objection; they providing leisure for any pursuits that may appear agreeable or useful to the society, by releasing those who would apply themselves thereto from the usual quantum of labour. But if this objection bears against the co-operative system, how loudly does it condemn the present! how many possessed of the brightest gifts of genius have perished in obscurity?

* It is but just that *all* men should labour, “he that doth not work neither shall he eat,” says the Scripture, in which we seek eternal life: also, “man shall live by the sweat of his brow,” it does not say, “thou shalt thrust the labour on thy neighbour, and batten on the fruits of his industry;” but perhaps these texts like many others, are not to be taken literally, they need clerical interpretation.

“Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

And of those whom the present system furnishes with leisure, how few signalize themselves by aught beneficial to their species, they cry that some are separated from the rest to improve the whole is like the mountain in labour; it would be something if those who lord it over their fellow-creatures, were endowed with superior properties, but scrutiny discovers them to be but gilded puppets, only deserving notice from the ills they create.

Objection. That all being equal, there would be no suitable reward for the exercise of superior talents.

Answer. The greatest and most efficient stimulant to works of genius, is a natural love in the individual for the pursuit he adopts. Dr. Johnson, perhaps in one of his contradictory moods, when he imagined himself privileged to defend error, indeed declared him to be a fool who could write for any thing but pay; but I believe the world would declare such a motive unworthy of a great mind, and would brand him who confessed to such a motive with the title of a mercenary hireling. A love for science has produced the noblest works of human intellect, and except the desire of benefiting our species, which perhaps is the same, is the noblest motive which can animate the human breast. The greatest reward of our brightest luminaries, has been the pleasure arising from their pursuits, while a necessity of writing for their bread, has often clipped their wings. Again, I might advert to the system opposed to co-operation, and ask how does it reward the exertions of genius? The melancholy list of eminent men, who have lived and died in poverty and distress, who have even perished from starvation, must be too well impressed upon every recollection to need enumerating here.

Objection. That the idle would be equally rewarded with the industrious.

Answer. In the state of society contemplated, all temptations to idleness would be removed; labour would not as now be an operation, filthy, unhealthy, and disgraceful; on the contrary, the disgrace would be attached to idleness. Every man would hold a rank in the public estimation; every man would be affected by public opinion: this would prove a sufficient preventive to idleness, if—which is extremely improbable—any had the inclination, even now if the idler found that he brought contempt upon himself, idleness would cease, though labour is surrounded by circumstances so disagreeable. That his idleness is condemned by a caste superior to his own, is immaterial to the labourer; there exists but little sympathy between them, and he is encouraged by those of his own rank whose opinion is to him all important; this has been said above, but the objection seemed to require a distinct refutation.

The objection then is answered as idleness would not exist, but it is somewhat strange that such an objection should be started by those who advocate the present system, which frequently loads the indolent with splendour and honour, while the industrious famish; but surely we *do* complain of the mote which is in our brother's eye, regardless of the beam which is in our own.

Objection. That it would overturn all existing institutions.

Answer. I must repeat that the ultimate end of all institutions is the attainment of happiness. For themselves only, no institutions can be prized, their effects alone render them valuable or otherwise; now, it will surely not be maintained, that the existing institutions have been or are productive of happiness,* they have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, precisely for this reason they would not be preserved while others more salutary can be adopted. Our prejudices are enlisted against innovations, but we must be careful to distinguish between the voice of reason and the croak of prejudice; and defend any thing on account of its antiquity, unless it have other claims to our notice. I must here quote some passages from Lord Bacon, which seem much to the point:—"The opinion which men entertain of antiquity is a very idle thing, and almost incongruous to the work; for the old age and length of days of the world should, in reality, be accounted antiquity, and ought to be attributed to our own times, not to the youth of the world, which it enjoyed among the ancients; for that age, though with respect to us it be ancient and greater, yet with regard to the world it was new and less. And as we justly expect a greater knowledge of things, and a deeper judgment, from a man of years than from youth, on account of the greater experience, and greater variety and number of things seen, heard, and thought of, by the person in years; so might much greater matters be expected from the present age—if it knew its own strength, and would make trial, and apply—than from former times; as this is the more advanced age of the world, and now enriched and furnished with infinite experiments and observations." Again: "Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alters all things to the worse, and wis-

dom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom though it be not good, yet it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves: whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity; besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still, which contrarywise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new." The length of the chapter prevents me quoting it; I shall however quote his conclusion from scripture: "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and look about us, and discover which is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

Unfortunately, most innovations have been attended with violence; they are almost considered as inseparable: the change now contemplated is sure the mightiest ever conceived by man; but it is founded on benevolence, not on violence, than which nothing can be more hostile to it; it must be effected by reason. Truth, not violence, is the weapon of those who wish permanently to benefit mankind. We should not be proud to change, we should be careful not to surrender a positive good for a possible superiority. But what should we change now, a positive good? No, but a positive evil, and we change it for what our unprejudiced reason assures us is good, unalloyed good. Our institutions then being evil, the sooner we improve them by change the better.

Objection. That it creates an equality among mankind.

Answer. This objection was included in and answered with that immediately preceding; but inequality seems so repugnant to all our ideas of society, and therefore, is so frequently and strongly urged as an objection, that it requires separate notice.

Those who read this paper, those who are liberal enough to patronize an institution for cultivating and improving the minds of mechanics, will regard any attempt to prove the natural equality of mankind as a work of supererogation; those who need proofs of such a proposition, who would claim for themselves exclusive rights independent of the workings of society, are effectually prevented from the perusal of this paper by the influence of their opinions. I shall, therefore, only observe that all men are equally endowed by nature with powers to enjoy happiness, whether it be mental or animal, the senses of the poor man are equally acute with those of the rich, till blunted or destroyed by his mal-education, his sympathies are *always* equally sensitive, and he is always as ready to succour his distressed companions; he is as much elevated and delighted by the acquisition of knowledge, which finds

* It may be said that we cannot reach beyond a certain degree of perfection, that "perfection is not human" is an old excuse, a cloak of indolence, and all kinds of abuses. The same reasoning would have kept us still in the woods, with our bodies painted, and quarrelling with hogs for acorns. Perfection seems no nearer to us than it did to our worthy ancestors; yet we have made great improvements: we must always endeavour to improve and we always shall.

as grateful a soil in his mind as in that of his richer neighbour.

All men having equal capacities for enjoyment, all have equal rights to enjoyment, unless such a disposition of things shall be proved to lessen the sum total of happiness, for no valid argument can be produced in favour of inequality, but inasmuch as it tends to produce a greater degree of human happiness. It is, however, a favourite theory among one class of reasoners, that by unequal distribution the sum total is augmented; this opinion is not, I think, founded in justice; to illustrate it, let us suppose that any commodity necessary to human life—water for instance—is so bestowed as to afford just a sufficiency for each individual: in such a case, how can it be distributed so as to produce the greatest enjoyment to those individuals? Would it be better that a large portion should be deprived of an article so necessary to their very existence, that one highly favoured should employ their share in the formation of a fountain, or a cascade; that he should take from them their means of life to gratify his vanity?

Would the additional happiness bestowed upon this individual, counterbalance the misery heaped upon his fellow-creatures. Could he enjoy the playing of his fountain while his eyes met the parched and bloody lips of those who were famishing by his luxury. Would the rippling of his cascade afford him pleasure, while his ears were filled by the groans perishing wretches bemoaning his injustice and cruelty? Instead of enjoying a degree of happiness proportioned to his possessions would not his misery be as exquisite as that of those who suffered around him?

It were surely better to give each an equal share, and let each participate in the joy of his fellows. Wealth in masses, is like manure heaped up, useless and offensive; distribute it, and it is highly beneficial; the rays of the sun, if concentrated to a point, are destructive, equally diffused, they impart general warmth and universal prosperity.

Yet, the former of these is the mode adopted in distributing that important ingredient of happiness—wealth—important, because it not only furnishes the means of animal gratification, but the want of it also debars the individual so circumstanced from great mental attainments. This, however, is beheld with complacency from habit, from want of consideration, or more perhaps, from a supposition on the part of each, that individually, he could forward but little the great work of human amelioration.

Inequality is an artificial effect produced by society, as a supposed benefit,* and only on such a supposition can it possibly be supported. Now, if the communal system which

upholds the natural equality of mankind is superior to that of individual interests, inequality is no longer expedient, and therefore equality is no objection.

An objection to the communal system has been urged by Mr. Malthus: he says the population would increase in a more rapid degree than the means of subsistence, because under this system men would be happy, and poverty would cease to operate as a check upon population. But, as the time when population shall exceed the means of subsistence is too distant to excite alarm, and as the objections Mr. Malthus would militate equally against any improvement of society, I need not reply to them in this already protracted paper.

Prejudice may doubtless urge other difficulties against this system, but I believe that candid investigation will prove their invalidity: it is therefore unnecessary for me to remain upon them in this already protracted paper, especially as I have yet other objections to answer. I shall therefore leave this branch of the subject; and request the reader's attention to an instance of community of property now in existence.

The objections to which I allude, are those of Mr. Malthus; their intrinsic force is not such as imperiously to demand refutation, but the author imagines that he has "put an answer on record to all systems of equality," and also because the promulgation of his doctrine and the credence they have gained, have done much to express the exertions of benevolence in ameliorating the condition of mankind. This, I believe, unintentional on his part, but in teaching that misery must exist, and is a law of nature, an edict of providence, he certainly reconciles men's minds thereto, and does much to quiet the scruples they might have concerning the justice of their luxury and superfluity while thousands are starving.

These objections are in vol. ii., fifth edition of Mr. Malthus's "Principles of Population" extending together through seventy pages; save time I shall extract his principal arguments and make a synopsis of the whole, careful not to misrepresent or misinterpret the author's meaning, as an inspection of the work itself will prove. He says, "If a country were never to be overrun by a people more advanced in arts, but left to its own natural progress in civilization; from the time that its produce might be considered as a million, through the lapse of many thousand years, there would not be a single period when the mass of the people could be said to be free from distress, either directly or indirectly from want of food. At every period during the progress of civilization, from the present time till the earth were become like a garden, the distress for want of food would be constantly pressing on all mankind, if they were equal. Though the produce of the earth would be increasing every year, population would have the power of increasing much faster, and this superior power

* "Property is founded on good of society; if we abstract from that it is entirely without foundation."—Hume.

must necessarily be checked by the periodical constant action of moral restraint, vice, or misery.

"The period when the number of men surpasses their means of easy subsistence has long since arrived, and this constantly subsisting use of periodical misery, has existed in most countries, ever since we have had any histories of mankind, and continues to exist at the present moment."

That distress for want of food has almost constantly existed, may be true. But does it hence follow that the actual quantity of food produced has been insufficient for the consumers; or that the ability to produce has been exerted to the utmost and found deficient? There are many causes adequate to produce the effect in question, and when we find that the system of society, under which such effect is produced has failed in other respects, it will perhaps be more just to blame art than nature, to condemn the actions of fallible man rather than the benevolence of providence.

Production is one thing, distribution another, and an erroneous distribution has caused the mischief we lament, when has luxury been wanted in her supplies? Enough of food has always been produced to satisfy all the wants of nature, but monopoly has also existed, and while poverty has wanted wherewith to satisfy the cravings of hunger, wealth has revelled in excess, take Ireland for an example—the poor have starved and are starving there by whole districts; but this does not result from inability to produce sufficient food; cargoes of corn are abstracted from her starving peasants, to yield a profit to the monopolist. There is sufficient, nay, more than sufficient, produced there to satisfy all the demands of her people; but is extracted from them by the competition of society. In England, too, we have always the seeds of distress; poverty and distress are daily complained of, but this does not proceed from want of production, the causes are artificial. The Earl of Lauderdale calculated that a farm containing 504 statute acres, would, under the management he directs, produce sufficient for the maintenance of 1977 people; and, consequently, that 9,000,000 of people could require only 2,412,746 acres for their support. In that case, England could support 10,000,000 of souls. "It has been ascertained by experiment, that three and a half acres of land, of moderately good quality, are capable of sustaining five persons in abundance. Hence, assuming that only 60,000,000 of acres could be rendered thus productive, the United Kingdom is capable of sustaining in abundance, a population of 90,000,000 of inhabitants. Yet with a fourth of this population, we have tens of thousands starving.

Mr. Malthus, in prophesying continual misery from the increase of population being so su-

prior to that of subsistence, has not pursued a fair mode of argument, he has stated that population might, could, would, or should increase in a certain ratio, having a tendency to double itself in a given period, and that the means of subsistence also increase but in a far inferior ratio; the one increasing in geometrical, the other only in arithmetical proportion. Now it is improbable, that any improvement to facilitate the breeding of human beings, that will doubtless proceed at its accustomed rate; it is not probable that they will ever be hatched by steam like chickens, or that mechanical agency will at all interfere in the operation. Its progress then may be considered as a fixed number, while on the other hand, it is impossible for any one to assert that no improvement can be made to increase the quantity of human food; because we cannot conceive how, and where, the improvement will be made, is no proof of its impossibility. The danger of overpopulation is not imminent, if the distribution of food be properly and wisely made; and, doubtless, the searching intellect of men will discover the means of producing food in proportion to their own increase of demand. Had Alfred been informed, that in a thousand years Great Britain would contain 20,000,000 of inhabitants, he perhaps would have shuddered, to think of the want they must experience; yet had he legislated to check the increase of the species we should have laughed at his Malthusian fears, and considered his wisdom in that respect as rather doubtful, in him we might excuse it, on account of the semi-barbarous times in which he lived.

How absurd it is to form difficulties at a distance so immense, is well illustrated in the following extract from *Essays on Commercial Economy*, &c, by E. S. Cayley:—

"We judge only from what we now know, and are not aware of the discoveries which the Deity in his stupendous wisdom, may reserve for the future developement of his plan; and we ought to be cautious as we legislate, to leave ourselves open to all the unforeseen possibilities of advantage that may arise. It would have been proper, in the early inhabitants of this island, who had no other resource than its native woods for fuel, to have legislated with attention to strict economy as to that fuel, when increasing population began to show, that, without a limit to the one there must come an end to the other; and that thus the comforts and welfare of the people would infallibly be cut off by their own numerical increase; but, had they resolved to destroy any portion of their children at their birth, to counteract this effect, thus to keep a balance between the fuel and the population, they would have been legislating on too narrow a principle. The hidden treasure of coal was not then in contemplation; but it would have been wise to have had full confidence, that He, who called us into existence, would provide for all our wants. The same case now exists as to coal, as then did

In Great Britain there are 15,000,000 acres uncultivated wasts capable of improvement.

respecting forests. Our coal fields are exhausting by gigantic strides, and steam is our labourer through its consumption. What is to warm us, and be our slave, when all our coal is exhausted? I leave to the ultimate beings of that day to determine."

Mr. Malthus has discovered, and every one else discovers, that distress constantly exists; but he refers it to the wrong cause; he declares it to be owing to inadequate consumption, or inability to produce sufficient, while the true cause seems to be erroneous distribution. The whole theory indeed is premature, unnatural, and blasphemous; it is an abortion engendered by ill-formed society, but it ministers to the prejudices of those classes whose duty it is to lessen the distress around them; it removes the blame from them, and places it upon providence. It palliates and throws an air of propriety over their luxuries and injustice, and is patronized accordingly.

But, supposing the theory true, supposing that the whole earth is cultivated, and her bosom refuses to yield sustenance for her children—no one has superfluity—no one wastes sufficient food for hundreds—and all are in want. Are the evils more deplorable in a state of equality than in a state of inequality, or does inequality lessen them? Imagine the evil of a redundant population to exist, what are the most rational means to mitigate the evil? A candid reasoner would say, increase if possible the produce of the earth. This, surely, seems a rational proposition; then trusting to Mr. Malthus' own confession, a system of equality would do this, he tells us:—"There can be little doubt that the inequality of property we have supposed, added to the circumstance of the labour of the whole community, being directed chiefly to agriculture, would tend greatly to augment the produce of the country." Here then from the "principles of population" is a decisive argument in favour of equality. We shall now see, what objections Mr. Malthus produces to counterbalance this positive benefit. I shall give them in his own words:—

"The appearance in all human societies, especially in those which are furthest advanced in civilization and improvement, will ever be such, as to inspire superficial observers with a belief, that a prodigious change for the better, might be effected by the introduction of a system of equality and common property. They see abundance in some quarters, and want in others; and the natural and obvious remedy seems to be an equal division of produce. They see a prodigious quantity of human exertion wasted on trivial, useless, and sometimes, pernicious

objects, which might be either wholly saved or more effectually employed. They see invention after invention in machinery brought forward, which is seemingly calculated in the most marked manner to abate the sum of human toil. Yet with these apparent means of giving plenty, leisure, and happiness to all; they still see the labour of the great mass of society undiminished, and their condition if not deteriorated, in a very striking manner improved."*

"Under these circumstances it cannot be a matter of wonder, that proposals for a system of equality should be continually reviving."

Of the two decisive arguments against such systems, one is, the unsuitableness of a state of equality, both according to experience and theory, to the production of the stimulants to exertion which can alone overcome the natural indolence of man, and prompt him to the proper cultivation of the earth, and the production of those conveniences and comforts which are necessary to his happiness."

"And the other the inevitable and necessary poverty and misery, in which every system of equality must shortly terminate, from the acknowledged tendency of the human race to increase faster than the means of subsistence, unless such increase be prevented by means infinitely more cruel than those which result from the laws of private property, and the moral obligation imposed on every man by the commands of God and nature, to support his own children."

"The first of these arguments has, I can always appeared to my own mind sufficiently conclusive. A state in which inequality of condition offers the natural rewards of good conduct, and inspires widely and generally the hope of rising and the fear of falling in society is unquestionably the best calculated to develop the energies and faculties of man, and best suited to the exercise and improvement of human virtue. And history, in every instance of equality that has yet occurred, has uniformly borne witness to the depressing and deadening effects, which arise from this stimulus."

I must leave quoting my author to rest on the last paragraph. It is a glaring and notorious falsehood, and Mr. Malthus should blush to assert in open contradiction to it that "the inequality of conditions offers the natural rewards of good conduct." It is undeniable, that many of those who are considered the noblest, have had no other recommendation than that of the fortuitous circumstance of being judged by their moral worth, or judgment.

* It is worthy of remark, that those who defend competitive society, and have theories of their own to support, admit machinery to be an injury.

by their utility; and either the heart
 ens at their pusillanimity and corruption,
 we are surprised at their nothingness.
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 their general characteristics are frivolity,
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 extreme wealth, and extreme poverty co-exis-
 nt—were introduced, farewell to energy, fare-
 ell to virtue. Sparta sunk to rise no more.
 a modern times, too, we have ample proofs of
 Mr. Malthus's veracity, one of which I shall
 resently instance; but he as usual contradicts
 himself, his next page answers all that its fore-
 runner has said. To proceed with the objec-
 tions:

* The worshippers of Neptune conducted a
 philosopher through a temple dedicated to that
 deity, and pointed with exultation to statues
 and other offerings presented by those who had
 prayed to him, and whom he had assisted in
 the hour of need; "and where," said the phi-
 losopher, "are the gifts of those who called
 upon him, but were drowned?" Competition
 may tell of those whom she has raised to no-
 toriety, those who have failed under her do-
 minion are broken hearted: the grave tells no
 tales.

"The peculiar advantage of the other argu-
 ment against systems of equality, that which
 is founded on the principles of population, is,
 that it is not only more generally and uniformly
 confirmed by experience in every age and in
 every part of the world. But it is so pre-emi-
 nently clear in theory, that no tolerably plausi-
 ble answer can be given to it; and, consequent-
 ly, no decent defence can be brought forward
 for an experiment. The affair is a matter of
 the most simple calculation applied to the
 known properties of land, and the proportion of
 births to deaths which takes place in almost
 every country village."

To the first of these objections I have already
 replied in various parts; I here repeat that
 man is not "naturally indolent," and that if he
 were, a greater stimulant is given by the co-
 operative system than by that of competition
 —a stimulant which speaks to the heart, to eve-
 ry amiable feeling by which the human being
 can be actuated. Man is not a mere machine,
 but is as capable of stimulus from intellectual
 motives, as from those which may be termed
 mechanical; these motives are amply supplied
 by the communal system, while in the other
 they are almost unknown.

As to the objection from the principles of
 population, I have already shown from the au-
 thor himself, that the results of co-operation
 would be to increase the means of subsistence,
 but he also contends that it would be attended
 with an immense increase of population, for
 want of that beautiful corrective poverty.

"No one virtue yet except starvation,
 Could check that worst of vices—propagation."

"If," says Mr. Malthus, "every man were
 sure of a comfortable provision for a family, al-
 most every man would have one; and if the
 rising generation were free from the fear of
 poverty, population must increase with unu-
 sual rapidity." This, the superior state of the
 people under the communal system, is the
 reason why such a system should not be intro-
 duced: truly a strange process of reasoning.
 The excessive increase, however, only takes
 place from the assurance of "a comfortable pro-
 vision," and from all fear of poverty being re-
 moved. But, as Mr. Malthus allows that in
 such societies there would be a great diffusion
 of information, and a great improvement of the
 human mind, the danger would be foreseen and
 guarded against; for with the prospect of too
 small a quantity of food, and a redundant po-
 pulation, could intelligent men deem them-
 selves secure of "a comfortable provision for a
 family," or "free from all fear of poverty?"
 Surely not; and therefore the theory of over-
 population, as an objection to a state of mutual
 co-operation, is pointless; but Mr. Malthus
 says:

"It is a very superficial observation which
 has sometimes been made, that it is a contra-
 diction to lay great stress upon the efficacy of
 moral restraint in an improved and improving
 state of society, according to the present struc-

ture of it; and yet, to suppose that it would not act with sufficient force in a system of equality which almost always pre-supposed a great diffusion of information, and a great improvement of human mind. Those who have made this observation do not see that the encouragement and motives to moral restraint, are at once destroyed in a system of equality and community of goods."

"Let us suppose that in a system of equality, in spite of the best exertions to procure food, the population is pressing hard against the limits of subsistence, and all are becoming very poor. It is evidently necessary, under these circumstances, in order to prevent the society from starving, that the rate at which the population increases should be retarded. But who are the persons that are to exercise the restraint thus called for, and either marry late or not at all? It does not seem to be a necessary consequence of a system of equality, that all the human passions should be at once extinguished by it; but if not, those who might wish to marry would feel it hard that they should be among the number forced to restrain their inclinations."

Why is it "a very superficial observation" to say that a greater degree of moral restraint may be expected from an intelligent community, than from a society in a state of ignorance? Who have their passions most under control, who are best capable of calculating the consequences of an action, the intelligent or the ignorant? Surely the intelligent: and we can more reasonably expect moral restraint, if it be required, from an intelligent community, than from one ignorant and short sighted. Indeed, we find in society at present, that the "preventive check" does not operate among the ignorant and poor, for with a want of calculation incident to the uninstructed, or a recklessness arising from their desperate circumstances, though surrounded with poverty and misery, they are also generally surrounded with a numerous family. Celibacy is a virtue (for so it must be according to Mr. Malthus,) far less common among the poor than among those who are better able to support a family; and if the moral check does operate, it is among those who are well-informed. Why then would such a community as that contemplated, be less likely to check the increase of population if such increase would be attended with misery? The encouragement and motives to moral restraint are not destroyed in a system of equality and community of goods, such as is here proposed, they would be increased ten-fold. As to the dispute concerning who should exercise the restraint, it is inconsistent with a community where each esteemed the happiness of his neighbor as his own. It has not been asserted that a necessary result of a system of equality is the extinction of human passions, but they certainly would be better controlled, and in a greater degree than the author of the "Principles of Population" seems to imagine possible. I shall subjoin to this paper an account of a commu-

nity "the Shakers," which will at once remove many of the objections urged against the system of united exertions with combined and equal interests, and amongst them those of Mr. Malthus.

Before I quit him and his objections, I would just notice the following paragraph which is among them:—

"Man cannot live in a state of plenty. All cannot share alike the bounties of nature. Were there no established administration of property, every man would be obliged to guard with force his little store; selfishness would be triumphant; the subjects of contention would be perpetual; every man would be under a constant anxiety about corporeal support, and no single intellect would be left free to expatiate in the field of thought."

Does this paragraph mean any thing, or has it only what Lord Byron calls a *no meaning*? Take the first period, "Man cannot live in the midst of plenty." Nothing can tend more to steel the heart against the supplications of misery than the declaration, if it obtain credence that misery is a part of our nature, and that it is useless to attempt its removal; a glorious maxim for the legislator to act upon. The remainder of the sentence shows how little the author comprehended the system he condemns: it shows that instead of a system of mutual interests, he contemplated a system of equality with individual interests, an anomaly which cannot exist. The system of united exertion with combined and equal interests, is a system founded on benevolence and sympathy, where in selfishness, contention, and fraud would be unknown.

A brief Sketch of the Religious Society of People called Shakers.

In 1747, from their own records, a small body of people were gathered together, forming a religious association, in derision called Shakers, in Bolton and Manchester, in England.

James Wardly, and Jane his wife, who had belonged to the Religious Society of Friends it appears, were founders of this sect. They were joined by other individuals, some of whom were people of property, and held meetings generally at Manchester. From their printed works we may here insert a paragraph. "Sometimes after assembling together, and sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were taken with a great trembling, under which, they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected with a mighty shaking, and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor under the influence of spiritual signs, shoving each other about, or swiftly passing and repassing like clouds agitated by a mighty wind."

From these strange exercises arose their name, though by many they were called shaking quakers. They are stated "to have increased gradually in light and power till 1771, when the present testimony of salvation was

ly opened through Ann Lee, who was revered at that time as their spiritual mother." She was born in 1736, in Manchester, and grew up in the same fallen state with the rest of mankind," married, and had four children. Ann Lee was zealous to enthusiasm, was often cruelly treated by the mob, many times imprisoned, and once put into the madhouse and kept there several weeks. In May, 1774, she, and as many of her followers as could go, embarked for America. When they landed, being poor, they separated to seek a livelihood, while she remained for some time in New York. In 1776, she went to Albany, and from thence to Neskenma, eight miles north west of Albany, and there fixed her residence, which to this day is a handsome village of that people. At that time it was a forest and a very retired place, suitable for her and her followers, who all collected and settled there. Soon after their arrival, they were viewed with a jealous eye; Ann Lee was thought by many to be a witch. Their numbers however increased, and it was judged best to separate; they accordingly built two other very pretty towns, some miles east of Hudson's river, near each other, and about thirty miles from Hudson. These settlements were begun in 1779, and were called Lebanon and Hancock. They met with many sufferings during the revolutionary war; for, being from principle averse to any kind of war, they would on no account take up arms, and many of them were imprisoned on that account.

"In September, 1784, Ann Lee departed this life; since which time they have increased rapidly. A considerable body of them reside in Kentucky; one in the Indiana territory, one in the Ohio, one in Connecticut, and one in the province of Maine, besides the three already mentioned in New York State. These additions are by conviction, and by accepting orphans and other children which are frequently presented to them; as they have no other increase, marriage being totally prohibited amongst them. They are established upon the principle of a community of property, on the system of united labour and expenditure, the advantages are equally participated by all, without any distinction whatever. They allow no stranger to sit at meals with them; yet their hospitality is great, and each community has a room set apart for strangers, with every requisite for their comfortable accommodation. They are neat and clean, almost beyond description; and for conveniences about their houses, barns, kitchens, stables, &c., they cannot be surpassed. Almost every article of food that can be produced with them, is of their own growth, and with every necessary and convenience of life, they are abundantly supplied."

"They also manufacture nearly all their own clothing, and make many articles for sale, among which are leather, hats, cards, boxes of beautiful workmanship, measures, wire sieves, flax combs, waggons, ploughs, rails, wooden ware, and brooms. They carry to market

most kinds of kitchen vegetables; they also raise for sale abundance of garden seeds of every description common in those latitudes. The cities and villages of the state are mostly supplied by them. As they are a people, perhaps, above all others to be depended upon for veracity and strict integrity, one may buy without fear of deception, and the articles are always delivered with the greatest punctuality."

"They avoid all unnecessary intercourse with others; they even decline mending the roads with other people; the road masters therefore, let them take as much of the road to repair as they please, and work it as they please, and their share is always well done and to the satisfaction of the magistrates. They will not serve on a jury, nor sue any person at law if they can avoid it. Their dress is uniform, not costly, being rather of a coarse texture, but neatness pervades every department; their fields, orchards, fences, cattle &c., afford proof of it; and in their extensive gardens, all useful plants may be found, but for weeds one might seek in vain. Their political principles are strictly republican, viewing all hereditary distinctions in civil or religious government, as repugnant to the principles of Christianity. Such is the favourable opinion entertained of them, that the legislature of New York, have by law exempted them from all military duty, and from any fine or tax in lieu thereof. They have likewise passed a law, enabling individuals who desire to join them, to become divorced. The harmony that has prevailed so long amongst them is greatly to their credit; and when we consider their value in a civil point of view, there is surely reason to hope that mankind will hereafter be wiser than to banish, by foolish and impolitic persecutions, a body of people from any country, merely on account of a few singularities."

"The number of individuals composing one of these establishments, varies from one to eight hundred. When an individual applies to be received into membership, he is visited by a committee of which the elders are a part, and closely examined as to his belief. If approved of, he is admitted on conforming to their regulations. They believe that there are no laws, human or divine, that will justify matrimony; and when married people join them, they not only separate, but the woman relinquishes her husband's, and resumes her former name, to do away as much as possible, with all traces of the transaction."

The quantity of land attached to one of their settlements is various, from one to ten thousand acres. They buy up neighbouring farms as the enlargement of their numbers and funds make it convenient. The boundaries of their settlements of Lebanon and Hancock, were formerly three miles apart, two farms only now separate them. A traveller who has heard of these people, can generally tell when he is come to their possessions, from the excellent improvements, fences, &c.

"The following remarks arise from a personal knowledge of the settlement at Hancock, but probably apply, as far as local circumstances will admit to the others."

"A small stream of water comes down from the mountain, north of the town, near the source of which a dam is erected for the use of a thrashing mill. One man supplies the mill with sheaves; it then falls into a fanning mill, where the wheat is so completely separated, that in eight hours two men can thresh and clean eighty bushels. Below this stands the corn or grist-mill, and below that the saw-mill. From the saw-mill the stream is conducted by an aqueduct under ground to the middle of the village, where it is made to pass under a hollow tree, for the purpose of turning a large over-shot wheel that serves to work their machinery. From this wheel the water is conveyed under ground to the washing-rooms, and also for watering the horses, stables, works, &c."

"It also supplies the mill that saws firewood, pounds the wood that is split for making baskets, and is afterwards conveyed to different fields, to water the cattle, &c. Thus is every thing under their control so managed, that nothing is wasted!

As a religious body, their charity it is to be feared, is very limited indeed! Believing their own to be the only true faith; they consider all other societies and persons as comprising 'the world that lieth in wickedness.'"

"This contracted feeling may be attributed to their education. It has been asserted that they keep the children who come amongst them as ignorant as possible. And this is true, except that reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught in the schools; but they do not believe in the propriety of giving the children a

liberal education, it having a tendency, in their opinion, to lead from the true Christian principles!"

Thus does this community, suffering under the gross ignorance to which they subject themselves, procure comforts and conveniences unknown in societies where knowledge has made her most rapid progress. Free from want; indeed, possessing all that they desire in abundance, though they studiously check the increase of knowledge, this community offers most important considerations to the notice of the philanthropic legislator; they afford a proof of the superiority of united exertions and interests over individual arrangements; they show too how amicably men can act together in a state of equality, and how compatible such a state is with industry, perseverance and virtue, and they thus give a practical answer to most of the objections urged against the communional system. Their simple polity has been more productive of happiness than all the complicated machinery of competitive society. Well might some of the highly polished and civilized nations of Europe, exchange situations with the misguided and bigoted Shaking Quakers.

I have now investigated the effects of either system on virtue, and on wealth, and have replied to the principal objections urged against the system which such investigation has led me to believe most conducive to human happiness. I have produced an instance now extant, wherein most of the principles deemed objectionable have secured the welfare of those under their operation. I have now completed my task: I am aware how inadequately, but I trust the arguments I have used, will not be thought the best in favour of the system, of which I am an humble advocate.

FINIS.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE

(Gray's Inn Road, London.)

for the purpose of relieving the productive Classes from Poverty, by their own industry, and for the mutual exchange of Labour for equal value of Labour.

I.—CONSIDERING that great distress has arisen among the Industrious Classes for want of means to circulate the wealth they can so easily produce, and that their distress is daily increasing, individuals desirous of removing this grievous evil, have determined to attempt its accomplishment: and for this purpose have formed themselves into an Association for relieving the productive classes from poverty by their own industry, and mutual exchange of labour for equal value of labour, under the denomination of the EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, as now established in the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, with a capital unlimited.

II. This capital shall be employed, first, in the carrying on and extending the operation of the Exchanges, and afterwards in providing arrangements to give employment to the industrious classes, and education to their children.

III. The capital shall be raised by deposits of 20*l.* each, which shall never be recalled by the depositors.

IV. The depositors of 20*l.*, or upwards, shall be members, and may sell and transfer their shares in the profits of the Exchange.

MEMBERS.

V. The members of this Association shall receive annually Labour Notes to the value of forty hours, as interest in consideration of every twenty pounds, or eight hundred hours' labour, which they may deposit.

VI. Any depositor of goods for exchange in the Exchange, who shall become possessed of Labour Notes to the value of eight hundred hours, or more, shall be entitled, depositing such notes with the Governor and Directors, and conforming to the Rules and Regulations of the Association, to become a member thereof, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of a member.

VII. All surplus profit beyond the amount necessary to pay the incidental expences, and five per cent. interest to the members, shall be applied to extending the exchanges, by providing employment for the industrious classes, and educating their children.

VIII. Each member of the Association shall receive, at the time he makes his deposit, a Certificate, signed by the Governor, a Trustee, and a Director, in the following form:—

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

Gray's Inn Road, London.

No. Established, 1832.

Date.

This is to certify that—of—has this day become a member of this Association, which entitles him to receive annually from the stores of the Exchange, goods to the value of forty hours labour.

Governor.

Trustee.

Director.

Secretary.

Entered,

IX. The governor and directors shall issue annually Labour Notes to the value expressed on each certificate to any person presenting the same, unless notice shall have been given to them in writing by the member to whom any certificate may belong, that such certificate has been lost.

TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the Association shall be vested in three trustees, who shall be named and appointed by the Members in general meeting assembled.

XI. When any vacancy occurs in the number of Trustees, by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled up at the first General Meeting of the Association thereafter.

TREASURERS.

XII. The Governor and Directors for the time being shall be joint Treasurers to the Association, and shall appoint a banker whenever it may appear to them necessary so to do.

XIII. All drafts upon the banker shall be made by the Governor, and signed by at least one Director, and countersigned by the Secretary.

MANAGEMENT.

XIV. The Management of the affairs of the Exchange shall be vested in a Governor, five Directors, and a Council of seven members, all of whom shall be elected by Ballot.

XV. The Governor shall be elected once in three years by the Proprietors voting by ballot.

XVI. The Directors shall be elected by ballot at the formation of the Association, and the two lowest of them on the ballot shall retire from office at the end of the first year. The two next lowest at the end of the second year, and the remaining Director and Governor at the end of the third year.

XVII. In case there should be an equal number of votes for more than two of the Directors, at the time of the Ballot, such Directors shall draw lots at the end of the year, and retire from office accordingly.

XVIII. The vacancies in the direction either by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled up by the members voting by ballot, and those Directors or Governors who have retired from office shall be eligible to be re-elected.

THE COUNCIL.

XIX. A Council consisting of seven Members of the Association shall be nominated and elected annually by ballot, without salary, whose duties shall be to inspect and investigate all the books, accounts, and every other matter whatsoever, connected with the Association, and to report thereon, to the Proprietors monthly, and to the Public quarterly.

XX. Any four Members of the Council may call a special general meeting of the members, and may present, at such meeting, any report which may appear to them to affect the interests of the members.

GOVERNOR AND DIRECTORS.

XXI. The Governor and Directors shall have the entire management and control of the affairs of the Exchange: shall appoint all officers and servants necessary to assist them in the management, and may dismiss such officers or servants when it shall appear to them expedient so to do.

XXII. The Governor shall preside at all meetings of the Directors, or meeting of Directors and Council, when he is present, shall be entitled to vote; and, upon all occasions of equal voting, he shall have, in addition, a casting vote.

XXIII. The Directors shall contract with the Proprietors of the Institution, in Gray's Inn Road, for premises for carrying on the business of the Exchange, at a rental not exceeding 2½ per cent. on the exchanges effected, or upon the best terms that can be obtained.

XXIV. The Governor and Directors shall not make any contract or engagement that will extend beyond the time they continue to be Directors, or that would bind or fix their successors to any payment, engagement, or performance, unless such contract, covenant, or engagement shall have been approved at a general meeting of the members.

XXV. The Governor or Directors shall not deposit any goods for exchange while they continue in office.

XXVI. The Governor and Directors shall appoint such persons as they shall deem competent to value the goods deposited in the Exchange.

XXVII. When the Directors have decided upon the value of the goods submitted to them, they shall issue Labour Notes to the amount in hours, which notes shall be signed by the Governor and a Director, and countersigned by the Secretary.

XXVIII. The Directors shall make up a return monthly of the Exchanges made in the Exchange of the salaries paid to officers and servants, and other incidental expenses, all which returns shall be laid before the Council.

XXIX. The Directors shall also keep minutes of their proceedings, which shall always be open to the inspection of the members of the Council.

XXX. The Directors shall also report at the annual general meeting, the state of the affairs of the Association.

XXXI. The Directors may, at any time, call the Council together to assist them in their deliberations.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS.

XXXII. Any member may nominate another member for the office of Governor or Member of the Council; and any person, whether a member or not, as a Director.

XXXIII. All nominations must be made at least twenty-one days before the election, and delivered to the Secretary in writing.

XXXIV. A list of the Members nominated, and the office for which each of them has been nominated shall be delivered to the Council, and also hung up in the exchange at least fourteen days before the day of election.

XXXV. No name shall be inserted in the list to be hung up, unless the person named shall have given his consent to take the office for which he is nominated.

XXXVI. Balloting lists shall be prepared for the use of the members, and shall be delivered by the Secretary to such members as shall apply for them at the day of election.

MODE AND TIME OF BALLOTING.

XXXVII. At the annual general meeting on the last Wednesday in August, every member who votes shall deliver to the Chairman his balloting

list folded up, who shall, in his presence, put it into the balloting box. The Secretary shall then mark off the name of the Proprietor who delivered it.

XXXVIII. When the Ballot is about to be commenced three persons shall be appointed Scrutineers by the members assembled.

XXXIX. As soon as the balloting is closed the Scrutineers shall cast up the number of votes, and report the same, in writing, to the Chairman, who shall announce the result to the members assembled.

XL. If the votes for two or more candidates should be equal, lots shall be prepared by the Scrutineers, and drawn by the Chairman.

XLI. Candidates in this manner elected shall have the management of the affairs of the Exchange for the year ensuing, or such other term as by the foregoing Rules they may be elected for.

XLII. The Secretary shall make a List of the Officers elected, which List shall be hung up in the Exchange.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

XLIII. The annual general meeting of the members shall take place on the last Wednesday in August. The business of which meeting shall be to consider the Report of the Governor and Directors of the proceedings of the Exchanges for the year immediately ended, and to elect by Ballot the Directors and Council of the Association.

XLIV. Special general meetings may be called at any time by the Directors, or by four of the Members of the Council.

XLV. No special general meeting shall be called till seven clear days notice shall have been given to the members.

XLVI. No business shall be brought forward or discussed at any special general meeting, unless included in the notice for calling such meeting.

XLVII. All general meetings may adjourn from time to time, and any new matter may be adopted at an adjourned meeting, provided that seven days' notice of the introduction of such new matter be given to the members.

XLVIII. No member shall be entitled to vote at any annual or general meeting till he shall have been a member for six months.

XLIX. No member shall be entitled to vote at any Annual or special general meeting of the members of this association, who has become a member by purchasing a certificate of any member, until six months after he shall have given notice to the Directors, in writing, that he has so become a member.

L. No member shall be entitled to more than one vote at any meeting in respect of any number of shares he may possess.

LI. All alteration in the Laws of the Association, shall be made by a Committee appointed at a general meeting to consider such alterations, which Committee shall report to a subsequent general meeting; and, if their Report be adopted, the laws shall be altered accordingly.